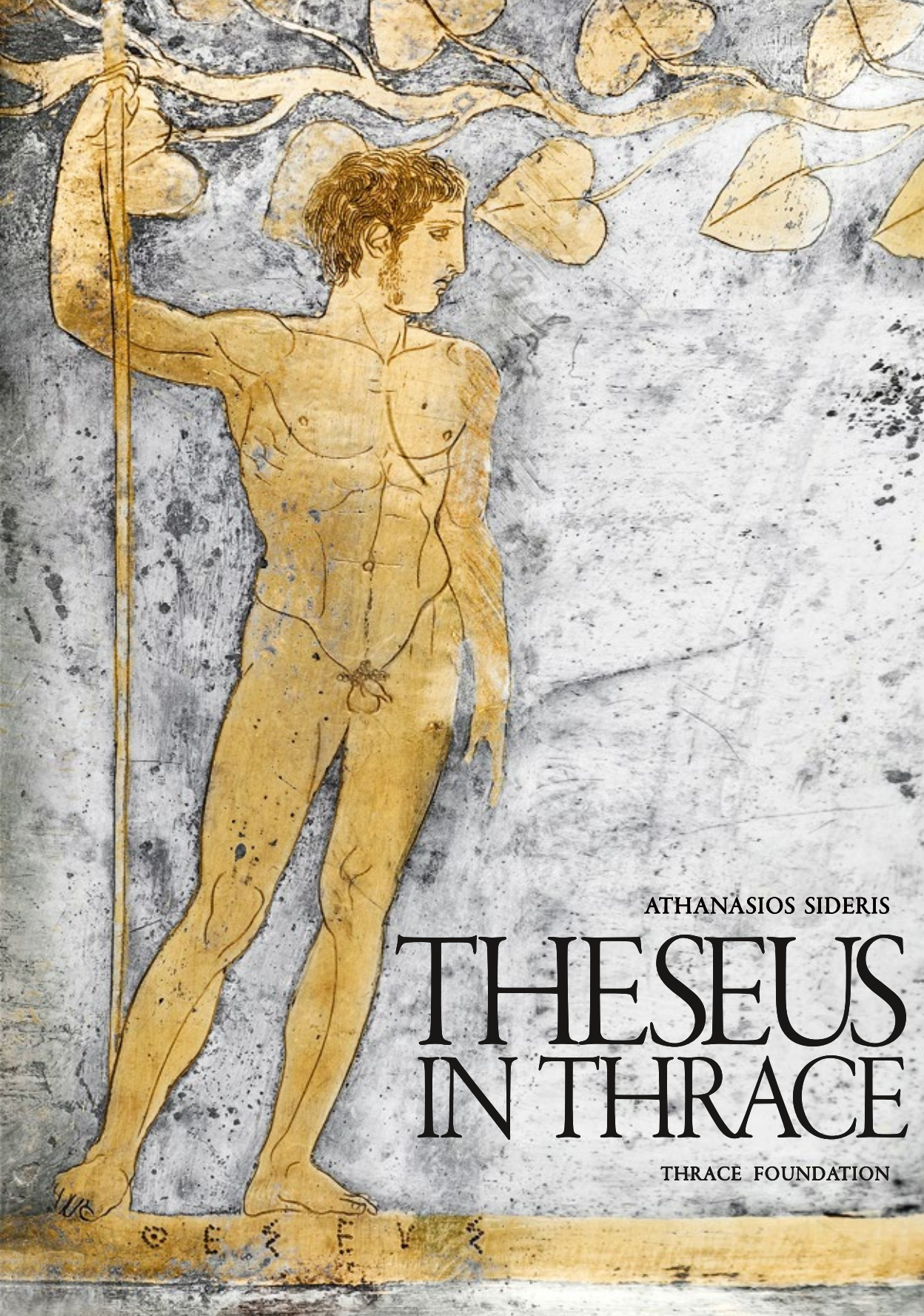


ATHANASIOS SIDERIS

THESEUS IN THRACE

THRACE FOUNDATION

ATHANASIOS SIDERIS

THESEUS IN THRACE

THE SILVER LINING ON THE CLOUDS OF THE ATHENIAN - THRACIAN RELATIONS IN THE 5TH CENTURY BC

THRACE FOUNDATION
SOFIA 2015

Institutions and persons who provided photographs
Vassil Bojkov Collection, Sofia: 1-2, 8-9, 12-13, 17-18, 21-23, 28-29, 31,
33-35, 37, 39-42, 49-52, 54, 57, 60, 62-63, 76-79, 82-84, 86, 89, 92, 94, 99.
National Historical Museum, Sofia: 7, 43-44, 48, 56, 59.
Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Musée du Louvre: 58, 80.
Ecole Française d'Athènes: 16.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens: 56.
Institute of Classical Archaeology, Charles University, Prague: 15.
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: 96.
Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection: 73 (Bruce White).
Diana Dimitrova: 97.
Athanasios Sideris: 4-5, 11, 36, 53, 64-65, 71, 102.

Every effort has been made to trace copyright holders and to obtain
their permission for the use of copyright material. The publisher apologizes for any errors
or omissions in the above list or in the list of figures, and would be grateful
if notified of any corrections that should be incorporated in future reprints or editions of this book.

All rights reserved. This book must not be reproduced partially or in its entity,
in conventional or digital, or any other form without the written permission of the copyright holders.
© Texts: Athanasios Sideris
© For this edition: Thrace Foundation
Editorial supervision: Ruja Popova
Drawings of the Vassil Bojkov Collection artefacts: Vania Malakchieva
Photographs of the Vassil Bojkov Collection artefacts: Marin Karavelov
Graphic design: Bilyana Savova
Prepress: Vladimir Stamenkov
Printed by: Bulged
Publisher: Thrace Foundation, Sofia 2015
This is a second, revised and slightly augmented,
edition of the original publication (also Thrace Foundation, Sofia 2015).
Publisher contact: info@nove.bg
ISBN: 978-954-92384-4-0

To my younger Bulgarian colleagues

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 7

1. INTRODUCTION 11

2. GREEK HEROES ON ARTEFACTS FROM THRACE 13

2.1 Peleus hunting a stag on a silver kylix 14

3. THESEUS ON ATTIC ARTEFACTS FROM THRACE 17

3.1 Theseus and Procrustes on a black figure amphora 17

3.2 Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a silver kylix 17

3.3 Theseus and Ariadne on a silver kantharos 20

3.4 Theseus and Sciron on a silver kylix 31

3.5 Theseus and Pirithous on a silver kantharos 32

3.6 Amazonomachy, possibly set in Athens, on a silver phiale 40

3.7 Theseus and Sinis on a bronze tray 44

3.8 Theseus and the Marathon bull on a gold rhyton 44

4. HERACLES IN THRACE 46

4.1 Heracles in various Greek and Thracian artefacts from Thrace 46

4.2 Infant Heracles with the snakes on a silver kantharos 49

4.3 Heracles mask on a bronze patera 53

5. ATHENIAN SILVER WARE OF THE 5TH CENTURY BC 56

5.1 Metal and pottery: the Oxonian controversy 56

5.2 The corpus of the Athenian silver ware 60

5.2.1 Athenian silver vases with figural scenes, 5th century BC 60

5.2.2 The "Athenian-colonial" group of silver vases 71

5.2.3 Athenian silver vases without decoration of the 5th and early 4th century BC 74

5.3 Other related 5th century silver plate 76

5.4 General observations and some questions 77

6. ATHENIAN DIPLOMACY AND SILVER IN THRACE 80

7. CONCLUSION 83

8. SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 85

9. INDEX 97

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On the way to write a book sometimes one meets another, which demands inexorably, for various academic and personal reasons, to be addressed first. This is the case with "Theseus", which got in my way towards a new catalogue of the metal vases in the Vassil Bojkov Collection, in Sofia. I realised that Theseus primarily, but in some extend Heracles and other Greek heroes, as well as their mythological, political, and -ultimately- cultural value, needed more space to breathe, than the restricted pages of a catalogue, even though I have been given for the latter unusually ample means. The simple presentation of some previously unpublished vases of the Vassil Bojkov Collection, together with the reinterpretation of some already known, both from the VBC and various museums, started to take shape, as a series of reflections on the function of the heroic figures on luxury ware, their conception by the Greek artists, their instrumentalization by the Athenian diplomacy, and their reception by the Thracian aristocracy.

During the short preparation time of this book I received much encouragement and support by colleagues and friends, and I thank them all. I want, though, to thank in particular dr. Ruja Popova for her early and profound engagement and her multifaceted editorial assistance. I am also grateful to Vania Malakchieva for her excellent drawings, and to Bilyana Savova for the creative design. The weights of the vases in the VBC have been provided by prof. Vesselina Inkova, who made also the restoration of the objects and supplied some information on technological issues. I assume, however, the entire responsibility of the ideas expressed herein.
I also address my sincere thanks to Bozhidar Dimitrov, director of the National Historical Museum in Sofia, Sophie Descamps-Lequime, head curator of the Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, in the Louvre, Joan Martens, curator in the department of The Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities in MMNY, Jan Bouzek, professor emeritus, Charles University in Prague, Yannis Violaris, archaeologist in the Archaeological Department of Cyprus, and Diana Dimitrova, archaeologist in the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia, for their assistance with various information and some of the photographic material. The late Eos Zervoudaki provided me with a picture from the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The full list of the sources of photographs and drawings may be found in the credits page and in the list of figures.

"Theseus" would not be possible without the generous support of Mr. Vassil Bojkov, who also met with full understanding the delay of the initial catalogue project, and the efficacious general coordination by Miss Yoana Cholakova. My warmest thanks go to both of them. For any eventual shortcoming or mistake there is none else to blame than myself. Please, enjoy and consume with moderation.

A. S., Sofia, 25 November 2015

ABBREVIATIONS

ca. – circa
cat. – catalogue
col. / cols. – column/s
diam. – diameter
ed. / eds. – editor/s
esp. – especially
fig. / figs. – figure/s
fr. / frs. – fragment/s
h. – height
ill. – illustration
inv. – inventory
l. – length
max. – maximum
no / nos – number/s
nt. / nts. – note/s
p. / pp. – page/s
par. / pars. – paragraph/s
pl. / pls. – plate/s
suppl. – supplement
tab. / tabs. – table/s
vol. / vols. – volume/s
w. – width
wgt. – weight
MMNY – Metropolitan Museum, New York
VBC – Vassil Bojkov Collection

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Peleus and stag kylix, Sofia, VBC, inv. 2162.
2. Peleus and stag kylix, Sofia, VBC.
3. Peleus and stag kylix, drawings of the medallion and profile, Sofia, VBC.
4. Peleus and stag kylix, detail of Peleus head, Sofia, VBC.
5. Peleus and stag kylix, detail of the ground with flowers, Sofia, VBC.
6. Partial drawing of a hunting scene with Peleus. Codrus painter cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. F2538.
7. Black figure amphora with Theseus and Procrurstes from Mushovitsa. Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1544.
8. Theseus and Marathon bull kylix, Sofia, VBC, inv. 2346.
9. Theseus and Marathon bull kylix, Sofia, VBC.
10. Theseus and Marathon bull kylix, drawings of the medallion and profile, Sofia, VBC.
11. Theseus and Marathon bull kylix, detail of the inscription, Sofia, VBC.
12. Theseus and Marathon bull kylix, detail of Theseus head, Sofia, VBC.
13. Theseus kantharos, side B with Ariadne andAphrodite, inv. 2454.
14. Theseus kantharos, profile drawing of the side A with Theseus and Athena, Sofia, VBC.
15. Black glaze Boeotian kantharos, Prague, Institute of Classical Archaeology, inv. I 268.
16. Bronze kantharos from Medeon, Chaeronea Archaeological Museum, inv 771.
17. Theseus kantharos, detail of the trace of soldering of the lost mask, Sofia, VBC.
18. Theseus kantharos, detail of the handle and trace of the lost knob, Sofia, VBC.
19. Theseus kantharos, drawing of the figures on side A, Sofia, VBC.
20. Theseus kantharos, drawing of the figures on side B, Sofia, VBC.
21. Theseus kantharos, detail of the figure of Theseus, Sofia, VBC.
22. Theseus kantharos, detail of the figure of Athena, Sofia, VBC.
23. Theseus kantharos, detail of the figure of Minos, Sofia, VBC.
24. Drawing of Minos figure from a neck amphora by Oenokles painter. London, British Museum, inv. E304.
25. Theseus and Sciron on a kylix from Kapinovo. Veliko Tarnovo, District History Museum, inv. 1728 P.
26. Drawing of Theseus and Sciron on a kylix from Kapinovo, Veliko Tarnovo, District History Museum.

27. Orpheus kantharos, drawing of the figures on the side A. Sofia, VBC, inv. 2165.
28. Orpheus kantharos, side A with the death of Orpheus. Sofia, VBC.
29. Orpheus kantharos, detail of the side B with the rape of Helen by Theseus and Pirithows. Sofia, VBC.
30. Orpheus kantharos, profile drawing, Sofia, VBC.
31. Orpheus kantharos, detail of the silenus mask, Sofia, VBC.
32. Orpheus kantharos, drawing of the figures on side B, Sofia, VBC.
33. Orpheus kantharos, side B with the rape of Helen by Theseus and Pirithows. Sofia, VBC.
34. Orpheus kantharos, detail of the side A with two herms and a pile of stones, Sofia, VBC.
35. Orpheus kantharos, detail of the side A with the head of a Thracian woman, Sofia, VBC.
36. Orpheus kantharos, detail of the hammering traces under the foot, Sofia, VBC.
37. Phiale Amazonomachy, picture and drawing of the profile, Sofia, VBC inv. 2233.
38. Phiale Amazonomachy, drawing of the interior, Sofia, VBC.
39. Phiale Amazonomachy, Sofia, VBC.
40. Phiale Amazonomachy, detail of a wounded Greek and his companion, Sofia, VBC.
41. Phiale Amazonomachy, detail of a wounded Amazon, Sofia, VBC.
42. Phiale Amazonomachy, detail of an armed Greek, Sofia, VBC.
43. Theseus and Sinis on the handle attachment of a bronze tray from Zlatinitsa-Malomirovo. Sofia, National Historical Museum, inv. 52190.
44. Theseus and the Marathon bull on a gold stag-head rhyton from Panagyurishte. Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum, inv. 3198.
45. Heracles and the Nemea lion on a phallera from Dolna Koznitsa tumulus. Kyustendil District History Museum, inv. II - 148 (after Marazov 1998).
46. Heracles and the Nemea lion on a phallera from Mramor tumulus in Panagyurishte. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, inv. 3559 (after Marazov 1998).
47. Heracles and the Nemea lion on a prometopidion (headstall) from Mramor tumulus in Panagyurishte. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, inv. 3555 (after Marazov 1998).
48. Heracles and Auge on a plate from the Rogozen treasure. Sofia, National History Museum, inv. 22304.
49. Bronze oinochoe with Heracles mask on the handle attachment. Sofia, VBC inv. 2265.
50. Detail of the Heracles mask on a bronze oinochoe. Sofia, VBC.
51. Silver oinochoe with Heracles mask on the handle attachment. Sofia, VBC inv. 2257.
52. Detail of the Heracles mask on a silver oinochoe. Sofia, VBC.
53. Heracles mask on a gold phallera from Kralevo. Targovishte, History Museum inv. 2305.
54. Kantharos with infant Heracles, Sofia, VBC inv. 2365.
55. Kantharos with infant Heracles, drawing of the profile and the medallion. Sofia, VBC.
56. Beotian red-figure kantharos with Pegasos and rider. Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 12487.
57. Kantharos with infant Heracles, detail of the interior, Sofia, VBC.
58. The birth of Aphrodite on a medallion, probably from a cup, said to be found in Galaxidi. Louvre inv. Bj 15.
59. Heracles strangling the snakes on the bottom of the gold amphora-rhtyon from Panagyurishte. Plovdiv Arhcaeological Museum inv. 3203.
60. Bronze patera with mask of Heracles, Sofia, VBC inv. 1533.
61. Bronze patera with mask of Heracles, drawing of the profile and the mask, Sofia VBC.
62. Detail of the mask of Heracles on a bronze patera, Sofia VBC.
63. Detail of the ram head on the handle of a bronze patera, Sofia VBC.
64. Detail of the palmette on the handle attachment of a bronze patera, Sofia VBC.
65. Bronze mirror with a chiseled and tinned griffin figure. Berlin, Antikensammlungen inv. Misc. 10187.

66. Kylix medallion with sited Nike from the Semibratnie tumulus IV. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. СБр. VI 15 (after Trofimova 2007).
67. Kylix drawing with Dionysos, Ariadne, satyrs, and maenads from the Semibratnie tumulus Mali. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. M СБр. 34 (after Gorbunova 1971).
68. Kylix with Bellerephon, Pegasus and Chimera from the Semibratnie tumulus II. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. СБр. II 32 (after Piotrovsky 2004).
69. Kantharos with Dionysos and maenad from the Goliamata tumulus in Duvanli. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum inv. 1634 (after Marazov 1998).
70. Kylix with Bellerephon on Pegasus, and Chimera from the Chernozem tumulus no 1. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum inv. IV-9 (after Luri - Costa - Fol 2005).
71. Kylix with Bellerephon on Pegasus, and Chimera. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 2015.260.2.
72. Phiale with Apobatic chariot race from the tumulus Bashova in Duvanli. Plovdiv Arhcaeological Museum inv. 1515 (after Marazov 1998).
73. Phiale with chariot race and Dionysian thiasos. New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection inv. 753.
74. Phiale with Thetis and Nereids bringing the Achilles arms. Art market (after Phoenix Ancient Art online list 19414).
75. Kylix with Graeco-Thracian rider. Private collection (after Phoenix Ancient Art, *Crystal* III, 2008).
76. Kylix with Helen and Hermes, Sofia VBC inv. 2160.
77. Kylix with Helen and Hermes, drawing of the profile and medallion, Sofia VBC.
78. Kantharos with Paris, Helen, and Aphrodite. Side B with Helen and Hermes, Sofia VBC inv. 2164.
79. Kantharos with Paris, Helen, and Aphrodite. Detail of the silenus mask, Sofia VBC.
80. Attic red-figure kantharos with eros by the Schuvalow painter. Louvre inv. CA 1587.
81. Kantharos with Paris, Helen, and Aphrodite. Drawing of all figures, Sofia VBC.
82. Kantharos with Paris, Helen, and Aphrodite. Detail of the figures of Aphrodite and Eros, Sofia VBC.
83. Kantharos with Paris, Helen, and Aphrodite. Detail of the figures of Paris and Helen, Sofia VBC.
84. Kylix with Orpheus musician, Sofia VBC inv. 2161.
85. Kylix with Orpheus musician, drawing of the medallion and profile, Sofia VBC.
86. Kylix of Orpheus musician, detail of the head of the right figure, Sofia VBC.
87. Kylix drawing with three figures from the Semibratnie tumulus VI. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. СБр. VI 11.
88. Kylix with a wheel in the medallion from Solokha. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. Дн. 1912 1/55 (after Alexeyev 2012)
89. Drawing of the gynekeion scene on a kantharos from Solokha. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. Дн. 1913 1/23 (after Mantchevits 1980)
90. Rhyton with ram head, Sofia VBC inv. 2222.
91. Rhyton with ram head, drawing of the figures, Sofia VBC.
92. Plemochoe with dolphins, Sofia VBC inv. 2246
93. Plemochoe with dolphins, profile drawing, Sofia VBC.
94. Kantharos, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum inv. 57.934.
95. Kylix from the Yakimova tumulus. Sofia, National Historical Museum (?).
96. Kantharos from the Goliamata tumulus in Duvanli, Plovdiv Archaeological Museum inv. 1635 (after Luri - Costa - Fol 2005)
97. One handled mug, Sofia VBC inv. 1326.
98. Ribbed mug from the Bashova tumulus in Duvanli, Plovdiv Archaeological Museum inv. 1518 (after Marazov 1998).
99. Skyphos from Nymphaion, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 1885.486 (after Vickers 1986).
100. Skyphos from Vouni, Cyprus, Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, inv. 292d.

1.
INTRODUCTION

The focal figure of this book is evidently Theseus. But his presence and meaning could hardly be addressed out of the frame of Greek heroes' representations on artefacts found in Thrace. Thus, the following chapters attempt a review of all Greek heroes appearing on artefacts found in Thrace between the Late Archaic and the Early Hellenistic periods, with emphasis on toreutics, and an effort to include as much as possible examples in other media, mostly pottery. For the later however no claim to exhaustiveness is made, since there are still numerous unpublished, or difficult to access vases, in various Bulgarian museums. Tentative identifications, which contain at least one element from an established hero's iconography, are also included, while others, purely hypothetical, or more far-fetched and fantasist ones, are simply excluded from the discussion. When I say Greek heroes I mean only heroes, although the boundaries between heroic and divine status are often blurred (*Apotheosis* of Heracles, cult of Orpheus). I do not discuss here the images of gods and other divinities (such as Dionysos and his *thiasos*, other Olympian gods, Selene, Pan, Cabeiri, Boreas, Eros, Dioscures, etc.), nor those of various beasts and mythological creatures (such as Gorgo, sirens, sphinxes, griffins, centaurs, etc.), which thrive in all possible media, supports, techniques and combinations, already before the late Archaic period and, of course, still for much longer after the beginning of the Hellenism.

The period addressed in this book is the 5th century BC for the questions related to the Athenian silver ware, and the 5th and 4th centuries BC for the iconography of the heroes. Selective objects of later date come into consideration sporadically, only as comparative material, and they are not discussed properly, nor collected systematically.

Artefacts previously unpublished, mostly from the Vassil Bojkov Collection, get more thorough attention, as do all of those representing Theseus. Artefacts representing heroes other than Theseus, are mostly discussed briefly when they are already known and published in the past. There are, however, some exceptions to this methodological rule, comprising mainly some already published exemplars, the iconography or/and the date, or/and the origin of which, are here challenged and reassessed. In a following chapter I gathered the images of Heracles, not only because he is by far the Greek hero most frequently found in Thrace, nor because he can to some extend be considered as the model for Theseus.[1] But also because the differences in the origin, date, and distribution patterns may reflect some major turn points in the politics and history of the Greco-Thracian relations.

The obvious connection of Theseus to the Athenian cultural domain introduces us inevitably to the wider issue of the Athenian silver ware production during the 5th century BC, which in the past made much ink to be shed in the frame of an academic disagreement, here called for convenience the *Oxonian controversy*. On the base of an updated, though not always confirmed, list of the evidence, some additional observations and suggestions are presented. They bear mostly on the issues of the metal ware – pottery relations, the silver colour, the weight standards, the style, and the inscriptions of these vases. The various degrees of proximity between the Attic models and the Thracian adaptations are also examined, and a picture more nuanced than usually admitted, seems to surface. Furthermore, the links of the Athenian toreutic art to the monumental arts (mainly sculpture and wall-painting) are succinctly explored, in an attempt to suggest some fields for the future research.

Some issues, such as the toreut and potter's social status, the chronological implications of a once proposed scheme of dependence of the pottery design on the toreutic innovations, and others yet, are mentioned but not thoroughly investigated, since they would carry us too far from the focus of this book,

1 Plutarch, *Theseus* 6.7, 8.1.

which remains Theseus and the Athenian silverware in Thrace during the 5th century BC.

The results of the abovementioned discussion are exploited in a following chapter, which tries -and it may not always success- to answer some old questions, while some new ones are emerging. For whom this Athenian silver ware was produced initially? How did it get to Thrace? How long could it stay in use before entering a grave? How close was the market value of these 'artful crafts' to their intrinsic value? What role did the luxury plate play within the Athenian diplomatic policy in the North? In which way the images on these silver vases have been perceived by the Thracians?

The historical sources clearly refer to the unstable nature of the Greco-Thracian relations, which have been regularly shadowed by many clouds of adversity, often turned to explicit hostility. The territorial and trade routes control, the grain production in the valleys surrounding the lower flow of the Thracian rivers, the control over the silver and gold mines of southern Thrace, as well as the access to timber and manpower resources were the main stakes. And it was under these clouds that developed the silver lining of the Athenian gift-diplomacy. Much of what comes now as a new glimpse into the Athenian artistic and luxury creation, owes its survival to two factors: the really high stakes for the Athenians, which demanded an exceptional management, and the burial customs of the Thracians, fundamentally different from those of the southern Greeks.

As a matter of professional ethics I would never feint to unquestionably pass over the concerns raised by the undocumented origin of many objects discussed herein, especially when some of them are of crucial importance. The concerns are not of the authenticity order, since in my view there is no technical, stylistic, archaeological or historical ground what so ever, to question it. But reasonable reserves still remain about their alleged origin, even if there is only very thin chance to be inaccurate. Some more concerns deal with their for-ever-lost context, which for any archaeologist is a lamentable loss of precious information.[2] Nevertheless, I believe (and without the slightest intention to justify illegal or immoral actions) that all archaeological artefacts deserve a full publication. I detect actually some kind of professional hypocrisy in the behaviour of those criticizing the publications of artefacts of undocumented origin, while they eagerly use these very publications in their own studies.[3]

To be fair, it must be said also that some aspects of the issues approached here have their germ in the Bulgarian academic discussion of the last two decades, even if not always with the required lucidness. I tried to get the best out of it. The reader may recognize the effort in the number of works in Bulgarian, cited in the bibliography, works of unequal range of course, which however remain often disregarded or altogether ignored by the academic West, mostly, but not exclusively, due to the language barrier. Art-historical and Thracological views have for years overwhelmed the Bulgarian academic conversation, and from there they licked into the public sphere, and extensively determined the national identity policies and the constructs of the past, as in many a country in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.[4] Happily a new generation of Bulgarian researchers of the Antiquity seems more sensitive to the contemporary scholarly concerns, better attuned to the latest accomplishments in research methodology, and fully integrated in the universal archaeological dialogue. This book is modestly dedicated to them.

---

2 From the extensive relevant bibliography I remind here only some of the most recent titles: Scarre – Scarre 2006; Green – Mackenzie 2009; Felch – Frammolino 2011; La Follette 2013.

3 I would remind, among such often cited works, the published catalogues of the Christos Bastis Collection, the Norbert Schimmel Collection, the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, the Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman Collection, and the George Ortiz Collection, as well as the catalogues of the Benaki, Canellopoulos, and Cycladic Art museums in Athens.

4 A thorough and critical account on Thracology, its impact, and its connections to the Romanian and Greek scholarship, can be now consulted in Marinov 2015, pp. 75-112 (especially on the most recent period, pp. 105-112). The Athenian silverware receives barely a mention in the recent overview of toreutics in Thrace by Valeva 2015, pp. 199, 204. More detailed descriptions, but in a few cases with questionable interpretations, in the extensive and useful overview of toreutics by Avramidou - Tsiafaki 2015, pp. 145-172.

2.
GREEK HEROES ON ARTEFACTS FROM THRACE

Several heroes of the Greek mythology figure on various types of Greek imported artefacts, which reached -one way or another- the Thracian domain during antiquity and mostly from the Late Archaic to the Early Hellenistic periods. They provoked also a number of local imitations and adaptations. Their iconography is in most cases well established and dated, but rarely related to myths with specific Thracian components.[5] First and foremost we encounter in Thrace the prominent Panhellenic figure or Heracles (once possibly accompanied by Iolaos, FIGS. 44-53, 55, 59, 62), as well as other important heroes, like Theseus (once with Pirithous, FIGS. 9, 21, 25, 29), Orpheus, and Bellerephon. Lesser heroic figures are also represented, such as Peleus (FIG. 1), Aeolus and Melanippe, Neoptolemus, Odysseus and Priam, Meleager, Triptolemus, and Paris with Helen (FIGS. 76, 81). Even Oedipus and Kadmos have been suggested for two figures on the gold plate covering a scabbard, but their identification remains tentative, since similar representations are known in a more generic way.[6] Some of the artefacts on which these figures occur have a documented origin, and some are undocumented, but they are given an alleged, and otherwise plausible, provenance from Thrace.[7]

Heracles in particular seems to enjoy a relatively large popularity, more on toreutic works and much less on imported Attic pottery.[8] Orpheus, although par excellence the hero considered by the Greeks themselves as Thracian, was until recently not represented in the heroic iconographic repertory of Thrace.[9] We have by now two representations of his death by the Thracian women, on a silver kantharos and a silver goat-protome rhyton, as well as an image of peaceful conviviality, with the hero holding a cithara next to a companion, in a gilt scene decorating the medallion of a silver kylix (FIGS. 28, 84, 90).[10] Bellerephon mounted on Pegasus and fighting Chimera appears on a silver kylix found in Chernozem, near Plovdiv.[11] Two more exemplars of the same vase type and showing the same scene are known. One comes from the Semibratnie tumulus II, in the Kuban area of South Russia,[12] while for the second one the provenance can be only conjectured as Thrace or Scythia (FIGS. 68, 70-71).[13] On one of the silver jugs from the Rogozen treasure appears Chimera in the typical Thracian iconographical style, but not Bellerephon himself.[14]

On a silver rhyton with a ram head finial, said to be found in Thrace, four figures including Poseidon may narrate the story of Aeolus and Melanippe, and account for the genealogy of the Aeolian and Boeotian tribes in Greece (FIGS. 92-93).[15] This work, dating from the end of the 5th century BC, although related to the Athenian silverware does

5 The myths of heroes related to Thrace transmitted through the literary tradition are numerous, but those represented on Greek artefacts less so. Besides Orpheus, which is discussed here below, the most popular are Lycurgus, Phineus, Rhoesus, Diomedes, and Tereus, but none of them is known until now from artefacts found in the Thracian territory.

6 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 96-97, nos A6 and A11.

7 Plausible in the sense, that similar artefacts have been unearthed in documented excavations in Thrace, and that nothing on them contradicts the alleged provenance.

8 Black figure oinochoe from Messambria, Archaeological Museum of Nesebar inv. 2113; see also the subchapter 4.1, on p. 47

9 RABADJIEV 2005, p. 72 but now, see MARAZOV 2013a.

10 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 65-67, 70-71, 79-82, nos 48, 50, 53

11 KISYOV 2005, pp. 45-48, pls. 10-11 and herein section 5.2.1 no 7 on p. 62.

12 GORBUNOVA 1971, pp. 23-26, 30, figs. 2, 6-7; GRATCH 1985, p. 13, no 2; VICKERS 1998, p. 10, fig. 3, pl. 5.1-2.

13 It is virtually a double of the Chernozem kylix, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Mary and Michael Jaharis in honor of the director Th. P. Campbell and inv. 2015.260.2. One more exemplar in the art market is of doubtful authenticity: *Gorny & Mosch, Kunst der Antike, Auction* 231, 17 June 2015, pp. 44-45, lot. 36 (dated there 4th c. BC, but withdrawn).

14 Vratsa, Regional History Museum, inv. Б 448: FOL ET AL. 1989, cat. 162.

15 PSEUDO-HYGINUS *Fabulae* 1.82; HYGINUS *Poetic Astronomy* 2.18.

not necessarily need to have been executed in Attica .[16]

A silver ram head rhyton from the Dalakova tumulus bears a scene identified as the murder of Priam by Neoptolemus, encouraged by Odysseus, in Troy.[17] It dates probably from the second quarter of the 4th century BC, and a little later (around the middle of the same century) we come upon a comparable silver calf head rhyton, found in the Goliamata tumulus in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa. On the later a scene of hunting has been identified as the hunt of the Calydonian boar, in which Meleager excelled.[18] The Calydonian hunt is also the subject of the relief representation on an aryballoid lekythos, found in a tomb in the Asparuhovo district of Varna, and dated approximately in the same period. Among the participants figure Meleager and Atalanta.[19] From just before the middle of the 4th century dates yet another arybaloid lekythos from Apollonia, depicting Triptolemus with the Eleusinian goddesses.[20]

Finally Paris, not properly a hero, nor a Greek one at that, is shown meeting Helen of Sparta, on a scene adorning a silver kantharos from the middle decade of the Peloponnesian War (FIG. 81).[21] On a red figure hydria of the Codrus painter, found in the Bashova tumulus, in Duvanli, and dated slightly earlier, the scene of the same encounter shows much solemnity, but lacks almost entirely the sensibility and the expressiveness masterfully instilled in the toreutic version.[22] He appears again in the scene of judgment, where he elected Aphrodite as the most beautiful of the three Olympian goddesses, on the second stag head rhyton from Panagyurishte, where he is labelled 'Alexandros' by an inscription.[23]

2.1 PELEUS HUNTING A STAG ON A KYLIX

1

A silver kylix found in Thrace, kept in the Bojkov Collection and published by Ivan Marazov,[24] shows in gilt figure technique a medallion encircled by a false spiral and an olive wreath (FIGS. 1-3).[25] The lines are made of consecutive dots produced with a fine chisel (FIG. 4). It is worth noticing the flora represented on the ground: a four petal flower and a thorny plant with a spherical flower, strongly reminiscent of the Scotch thistle (*Onopordum acanthium,* FIG. 5). Both have parallels on other gilt figure silver ware.[26] The scene represents a young man wearing a mantle and a *pilos*, the conical hat of hunters, holding a *rhopalon* (cudgel), and defeating a stag attacked

16 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 62-64, no 47. See also herein section 5.2.2 no 5, p. 72.

17 MARAZOV 2009, esp. pp. 27-33; DIMITROVA 2010, fig. 2, pls. 12.3-4.

18 AGRE 2011, pp. 127-136, figs. V 1-9.

19 SHKORPIL 1931, pp.73-75, figs. 54-56; LAZAROV 2003, p. 157, no 60.

20 IVANOV 1963, pp. 92-94; LAZAROV2003, pp. 163-164, no 64.

21 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 74-78, no 52, and herein section 5.2.1 no 17, p. 66.

22 FILOW 1934, pp. 73-79, figs. 95-99, pl. 14; LAZAROV 2003, pp. 122-125, no 41. On the shoulder of the same vase there is a scene of *Theoxenia* of Dioscures, the very denomination of which places them rather among gods than heroes.

23 CONCEV 1956, pp. 126-131, fig. 2, pls. 1-2, 4; MARTINEZ ET AL. 2015, p. 224, cat. 186. "*Aleks[k]...*" is the Lycian name form used also on a janiform head kantharos from Egypt with the same subject represented on the neck: STRONG 1964, pp. 98-99.

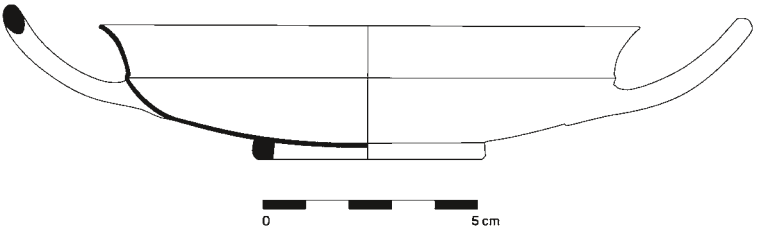
24 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 72-73, no 51.

25 The olive branch (*Olea europea*) is not easy to distinguish from the laurel one (*Laurus nobilis*) in the Greek pictorial convention, despite the real plants having a different appearance. Both species have drupe fruits borne from the axils of the leaves, but those of laurel are in pairs, while olive flowers are set in racemes, resembling vines at their youngest phase.

26 See herein the *Orpheus kantharos* and the *Graeco-Thracian rider kylix*, sections 3.5 and 5.2.1 no 15, pp. 34, 65.

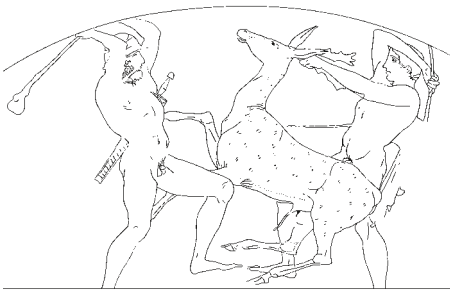
2

3



4

5



6

by a dog.[27] There are at least three candidate Greek heroes for this setting, but the literary accounts on their exploits and the actual image details do not coincide for any of them. Heracles was assigned as his third labour to capture the Ceryneian hind, the favourite animal of Artemis. And he did successfully, but here we have clearly a stag, not a hind.[28] Odysseus also hunted a stag on the island of Circe before meeting her, but the cudgel is not his typical weapon, and no dog could possibly assist him.[29] Peleus, Achilles' father, hunted many deer on the Mount Pelion with Acastus, the king of Iolcus.[30] But the literary tradition has him armed with a magical sword during this challenge, to which he was forced by the slanders of Acastus' wife.[31] However, the iconography of some Attic red figure vases lends support to the *pilos*, cudgel, and dog elements in the Peleus representation.[32] In particular, on the name-cup of the Codrus painter, kept in Berlin and dated in the 430s BC, a similar figure, with *pilos* and cudgel, hunting a stag, is identified as Peleus by an inscription, and the scene is believed to capture the Pelion stag hunt (FIG. 6).[33] His presence on our silver cup, dated in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War, might possibly be seen as a metaphor for the people of Athens, feeling been dragged at the war by injustice and lies.

27 For the *ῥόπαλον* see: XENOPHON *Cynegeticus* 6.11 and 17; NANKOV 2010, p. 48. A deer hunt scene appears also on a phiale, but there the hunters are horse-mounted, see herein section 5.2.2 no 2.

28 PINDAR *Olympian* 3.26-27; DIODORUS SICULUS 4.13; PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.3; PSEUDO-HYGINUS *Fabulae* 30.

29 HOMER *Odyssey* 10.156-172; ROESSEL 1989; SCODEL 1994.

30 Peleus is known from Thrace in a more widespread theme, his fight with Thetis: MARAZOV 2011, p. 97, no B 11 (in a late Archaic or early Classical rendering, on the silver plaque of a sword seath).

31 PINDAR *Nemeans* 4.29 and 5.26; PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS *Bibliotheca* 3.12.7; SCHOLIAST OF PINDAR *Nemean* 4.54 and 4.59; ZENOBIUS *Proverbs* 5.20.

32 SCHEFOLD - JUNG 1988, p. 24, fig. 8 (cup from Spina, Peleus with mantle and *pilos*, Polygnotos, 450-430 BC); SHAPIRO 1994, p. 101, fig. 67 (hydria art market, Peleus with *pilos*, club and dog, Polygnotos 450-430 BC); BOARDMAN 1989, fig. 390A (Peleus with pilos, Marsyas painter, mid 4th c. BC).

33 *CVA Berlin Antiquarium* 3, pp. 14-15, pl. 1062 ; *LIMC* VI, Meleager 24, pl. 210; AVRAMIDOU 2011, pp. 39-40, 108-109, pl. 8b.

3.
THESEUS ON ATTIC ARTEFACTS FROM THRACE

Without a doubt, and quite unexpectedly, Theseus is one of the most frequent Greek heroes encountered on artefacts from Thrace. He also figures among the oldest, to this day, Greek imports with a hero representation. Here follows a list of the evidence.

3.1 THESEUS AND PROCRUSTES ON A BLACK FIGURE AMPHORA

Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum inv. 1544. H. 42.2 cm, rim diam. 18.2 cm, base diam. 13 cm.

7

The amphora was found in the Moushovitsa tumulus, Duvanli, Plovdiv district (FIG. 7).[34]
Beardless Theseus on the left of the scene wears a short chiton and a cuirass over which crosses the strip holding a sword on his left flank. On his right hand holds a double axe and he advances against a half-fallen bearded naked man, of whom he already got grip by his left hand. The man has been identified as the bandit Procrustes on the base of other comparable representations, as well as because Theseus is using his weapon, the axe.[35] The vase is one of the latest major works in the Attic black figure technique, dates from approximately 480 BC, and together with a "Heracles" oinochoe from Messambria represent the earliest -to this day- depictions of Greek heroes found in Thrace.[36]

3.2 THESEUS AND THE MARATHON BULL ON A SILVER KYLIX

8

Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection inv. 2346. H. to rim 3 cm, l. with handles 18.1 cm, rim diam. 12.7 cm, ring base diam. 4.9 cm, medallion diam. 7.2 cm, wgt. 189.94 g.[37]
The bowl is raised; the handles and the ring base are cast and soldered. The exterior surface is mat grey, bearing the typical silver-grey patina. The interior is somewhat darker with a few reddish spots. In the centre there is a *tondo* with a chiselled and leaf gilded figurative scene (FIGS. 8-10). The design makes use of at least three different types of lines: one bold

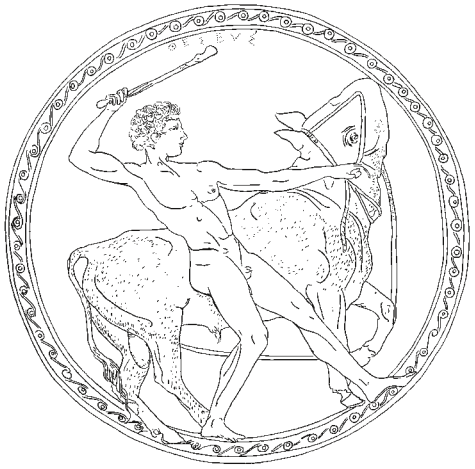
34 FILOW 1934, pp. 90-93, fig. 114, pls. 12-13; LAZAROV 2003, pp. 65-68, no 7; MARTINEZ ET AL. 2015, p. 73, cat. 32.

35 *LIMC* VIII (1997), pp. 933-934, Theseus 126-146 (entry by J. Neils).

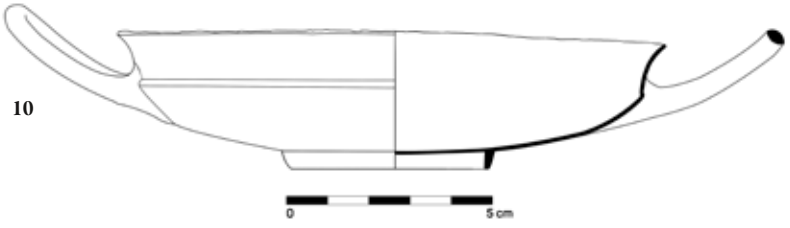
36 For the oinochoe and its possible interpretation, see forward p. 46.

37 The weight of the vase corresponds to 45 Attic drachmae yielding a drachma of 4.28 g. and leaving 2.6 g for the modern restoration material used for the re-attachment of the loose handles and base.

9



10



and profound, another thin and continuous, and a third one short and shallow in order to achieve a less light-reflecting effect for the shadowy parts and the hair of the figures (FIG. 12). The vase is preserved in very good general condition and it has not been published until now. Reportedly it has been found in central Thrace.

The kylix is a "Rhenia cup", a shape created in the Attic pottery a little before the middle of the 5th century BC, and produced almost without changes until the last decade of the century.[38] It is shallow with a moulding marking the passage from the bottom to the lip, which is slightly bending outwards. The ring base is almost triangular in section. The handles are "Π" shaped and circular in section.[39]

In the centre there is a *tondo* consisting of a circular false running spiral between two double lines and in the interior a naked youth and a bull. The young man has a ribbon tied around his short wavy hair, he holds a club on the raised right hand and with the left one grasps the rein already placed on the bull's head. Both the man and the animal look to the right. The man's body, presented in three quarters with strong musculature, leans back to counterbalance the furious animal's force. His left foot advances and holds firmly, while the slightly bent right foot finds touch on the interior line of the tondo. The composition creates a regular pentagon inscribed in the *tondo* with its top on the tip of the club.[40] Just above the club there is a tiny (letters are 2.4 mm high) dotted inscription ΘΕΣΕVΣ (FIG. 11). Short shallow chiselled lines indicate the bull's hair and the rope used as a bridle. The medallion periphery, both the human and the animal figures with the club and the bridle, as well as the inscription, are all leaf gilded.

The inscription on the kylix belongs to the "caption" type of inscriptions, which describe the figurative representations, and they are very rare on metal vases, despite being regular on pottery. I know only seven parallels in silver and gold: the *Theseus and the Orpheus kantharos* in the Vassil Bojkov Collection (FIGS. 19-20, 28), the Auge plate from the Rogozen treasure (FIG. 48), the goat and one of the stag rhyta from Panagyurishte, the Roscigno kantharos, and a janiform vase in the British Museum with captions in Lycian language.[41] The fact, that the inner circular line of the band surrounding the figures traverses longwise the inscription, proves that the later was part of the original design, and that the toreut miscalculated the distance from the centre when starting the circle at another point of its periphery.

The represented mythological episode is well known from various ancient sources. According to them the bull was sent to the Cretan king Minos by Poseidon, who wanted the animal to be sacrificed to him. Minos, however, so much admired its beauty that he replaced it with another one for the sacrifice. The sea god in his anger made the bull furious and causing great devastation on the island. Eurystheus, the Argive king, ordered Heracles to catch the bull, and the hero accomplished the task. But he brought the bull home and there he set it free again. The bull passed from the Isthmus to Attica, arrived to the Marathon plane and killed many people. Young Theseus went to Marathon, captured the animal using the club, which he took from the bandit Periphetes in the beginning of his deeds, and led it through Attica to the Acropolis, where he sacrificed it to the goddess Athena.[42]

This story was part of the six labours of Theseus and it was illustrated in the Athenian art already since the Archaic period both on vase painting and architectural sculpture. It occurs on several exemplars of the so-called "cycle cups",[43] and on one of the *metopes* of the Athenian treasury in Delphi.[44] After the Persian Wars there has been in Athens a conscious political effort to promote Theseus to the rank of national hero. To this effect the general Kimon brought from the island of Skyros "the bones of Theseus", buried them in Athens,

38 DUGAS – RHOMAIOS 1952, pl. 40, nos 162-163, 165; SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, pp. 100, 276, nos 459-462, fig. 5, pl. 21.

39 Nine such silver handles, but without the kylikes to which once they belonged, have been found in the Svetitsa tumulus, near Shipka, KITOV 2005, pp. 57-58, fig. 86.

40 WEBSTER 1939, pp. 108-110, 113-115; VAN DER GRINTEN 1966, passim; ROLLEY 1972, pp. 151-162, figs. 3-5, 8, 10-11.

41 MARAZOV 1998, pp. 145-146, nos 72-73, p. 176, no 107; MARAZOV 2011, pp. 79-82, no 53; HOLLOWAY – NABERS 1980, pp. 64-79, figs. 1-5; STRONG 1964. For the Theseus kantharos, see p. 24.

42 PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS *Bibliotheca* II.5.7, II.95, III.15.7; PAUSANIAS I.27.9, V.10. 2; STRABO IX.1.22; PSEUDO-HYGINUS *Fabulae* 30, 38; DIODORUS SICULUS IV.13.3, IV.59.6; SERVIUS, *ad Aen.* VIII.294; PLUTARCH, *Life of Theseus* 14.1; OVID, *Metamorphoses* VII.433; STATIUS, *Thebaid* 12.672.

43 BROMMER 1979, pp. 504-505; MORRIS 1995, p. 341;

44 LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE 1957, pp. 58-63, pls. 46-47; BOARDMAN 1991, fig. 213.6.

11

erected a shrine dedicated to the mythological hero and reinvigorated a preexisting cult sometime in the late '70s or early '60s of the 5th century BC.[45] Theseus himself, his life and his labours became thus a symbolic expression of the Athenian achievements during the Persian Wars. What would be a more eloquent praise to the Marathon battle than the commemoration of the capture of the terribly destructive animal by Theseus in the same plane?[46] Moreover, a popular legend of that time had the hero's spectrum, together with that of Heracles, showing up to his compatriots during the battle, to help and encourage them.[47] This could have stimulated a new depiction of the bull episode on one of the *metopes* of the Hephaisteion, dating from the early 440s BC.[48] The leaned back body of the hero, against the bull's movement, finds an antecedent on a *metope* from Olympia, where Heracles captures in an earlier mythological episode the very same bull.[49]
The theme also appears quite often on vase painting of the period after the middle of the century, including works belonging to the Polygnotos group, or by artists such as the Penthesileia painter, the Codrus painter, the painter of London E105, and Aison, all but the last one active between 450 and 430 BC.[50] It is surprising, however, that despite the proliferation of the subject all

45 Pausanias I.17.2; Philochorus in *FGrH* 328 F18a; Plutarch, *Kimon* 8; Agard 1928, pp. 88-89; Den Boer 1969, pp. 11-12; Davie 1982; Shapiro 1992, p. 47 ; Walker 1995, pp. 20-24, 55-61; Gouschin 1999, p. 173.

46 Morris 1995, pp. 294-295, 340-343; Shapiro 2009, pp. 266-267. : Euripides *Suppliant Women* 351; Pausanias 1.3.2; Walker 1995, pp. 144-147.

47 Plutarh *Theseus* 35; Pausanias 1.15; Gouschin 1999, 169-170; Mikalson 2010, p. 218.

48 Boardman 1985, fig. 111, South 3; Rolley 1999, pp. 104-105.

49 Boardman 1985, fig. 23.4; Rolley 1994, pp. 369-370, fig. 389.

50 Moon – Berger 1979, pp. 194-196; Brommer 1982, pl. 14.1; Boardman 1989, figs. 164, 240, 292.3 and British Museum inv. 1847,0806.43 (E 105).

12

these images, including the one on the Bojkov Collection silver kylix, conform to a single iconographic scheme, as if they were copying a well known model. Pausanias actually tells us that the people of Marathon dedicated on the Acropolis a sculptural group depicting Theseus and the Marathon bull, and the archaeological excavations brought to light some marble fragments believed to belong to this sculpture.[51] We don't know the exact date of the dedication, but in all probability it took place a few years before the middle of the century. It seems then legitimate to suppose that the gilt medallion composition in our kylix may be a more or less accurate representation of the lost marble original set on the Acropolis. On the ground of the stylistic and compositional comparisons provided above, it can be dated towards the end of the decade following the middle of the 5th century BC.

3.3 THESEUS AND ARIADNE ON A SILVER KANTHAROS

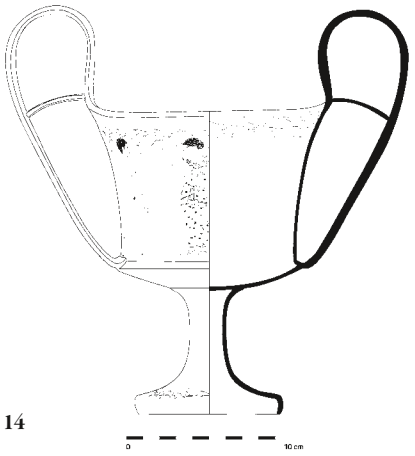
Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection inv. 2454. Reportedly from Thrace. H. to rim 15.8 – 16.1 cm, h. to top of the handles 21 cm, rim diam. 13.1 cm, base diam. 7.5 cm, cup h. 8 cm, w. with handles 20 cm, handle w. 1.9 (top) – 2.2 (base), lost mask trace 3.5 x 4.5 cm, spur trace 13 x 6 mm, thickness of rim and base 2 mm, cup bottom diam. 9.5 cm, letters h. 1.5 – 2.5 mm.
The vase is composed by four parts soldered to-

51 Pausanias 1.27.9; Shapiro 1988, pp. 373-382.

13

gether. The parts were hammered, possibly out of cast sketches. Clear hammering traces are visible underneath the foot. The knobs and the masks of the handles are lost (FIGS. 17-18). There are leaf-gilded figures and vegetal motifs, with chiselled and punched details. The letters of the six inscriptions are finely dotted, with mostly minor wears on some of the inscriptions, and small restorations on the bottom periphery (FIGS. 21-23). The kantharos is preserved in a very good condition, and has never been published until now.

The shape is that of the classical kantharos, with a large open-calyx cup, band handles, and a high stem. The cup has slightly convex bottom, which creates a sharp carination on the wall base. The walls are flaring to an outturned rim. The high-looping band handles are hammered in one piece with the cup, have lateral ridges, and are soldered on the bottom's periphery. They are provided with cross-bars between the lip and their external part. Of the knobs, once on the lower outer surface of each handle, only the soldering traces remain. Just on the interior of the handles' junction with the rim, traces of soldered and now lost masks are visible (FIGS. 13-14, 17-18). A chiselled and gilt laurel wreath runs under the lip interior, and an ivy one occupies the same position on the exterior (FIGS. 14, 19-20). The tubular stem of the foot culminates on a small disk, on which the cup is soldered. On its lower part the stem widens to a circular base of convex profile. The base is decorated with a gilt ivy wreath.



14

Six main standing-alone figures decorate the walls of the cup. They are all, chiselled, leaf-gilded, and identified by miniscule dotted inscriptions placed under the gilded ground line, just below their feet. A smaller seventh figure of a winged boy, placed on Ariadne's feet, is not labelled. The inscriptions identify the figures as ΘΕΣΕVΣ, ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ and ΚΝΟΣΟΣ on the side A (FIG. 19), and ΑΡΙΑΔΝ(Ε), ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤ(Ε) and ΜΙΝΟΣ on the side B of the vase (FIG. 20) (*Theseus, Athenaia, Knosos, Ariadne, Aphrodite, Minos*). After the Minos inscription, next to the handle attachment, only three letters remain legible from a seventh, very damaged inscription: ...ΙΘ(Ε)... (unrelated to the figure of the winged boy on the opposite side of the scene).

Theseus is shown as a naked young man, his body in three quarters and his head in profile facing right, in a relaxed attitude and with his raised right hand reposing on a spear, the invisible head of which reaches beyond the image field, framed by the ivy wreath (FIG. 21 and cover). The anatomical details and the musculature are represented in a very detailed and accurate way. His pubic hair is created by small punched circles, and a slightly larger punch denotes his navel. Dense undulating lines depict his hair, while the beginning of a stubble beard, on the rear part of his cheek, is shown with short sparse lines.

Athena, facing the hero, occupies the central place in the composition. The goddess is almost mirroring the posture of Theseus, except for her right hand which is raised in a gesture of advice or encouragement (FIG. 22). She wears a foot-long *peplos*, decorated with zig-zag lines on its edges and with small rosettes all over the fabric, with a long *apoptygma*, belted in the waist with a thin cordon. A small part of the *aegis* covers her upper chest, while the rest would cover her back. Its scales are depicted with punched half-circles and on its edge there are eight snake heads. Athena's raised left hand is reposing on a partially visible spear. She is barefoot and wears no helmet. Her beautiful head in profile shows a simple, but very elegant hairdo: the hair is parted above the front, long wavy locks run until above the ears, where they join the back hair, rolled up above the back of the neck.

The third figure of the scene, Knossos, is particularly interesting for iconographical reasons, as we will see further (FIG. 19). Knossos is represented here as a middle-aged man with a rich beard, and wearing a *himation* around his waist, the extremity of which passes over his right shoulder, while the right shoulder and half of his hairy chest remain uncovered. His body is shown frontally but the head is looking left in profile. He has a wooden stick with knobs in the right hand, and holds the *himation* edge with the left one. His sandals are shown in frontal foreshortening.

On the side B the first figure, Ariadne, stands looking right. She wears a long *peplos* or *chiton*, of which only small parts are visible, since she is entirely wrapped in her opulently decorated *himation* (FIG. 20). The fabric is covered by a pattern of dotted rectangles with a punched circle in the centre, while on the edges runs a meander motif. Her head, with a hairdo similar to that of Athena on the side A, leans in front of her, looking at a small naked and winged boy, next to her bare feet. The boy, Eros no doubt, is almost kneeling on his left knee, and raises his hands towards Ariadne in a gesture of solicitation and plea. On this side, again, the central position is given to a divinity. Aphrodite, the body frontal, the head turned to the left, follows Ariadne's reaction (FIG. 20). With her left hand raised, she is wrapping (or unwrapping) herself in her mantle. The goddess of love wears a fine fabric *chiton* with elbow-long sleeves, and her *himation* shows the same decoration with Athena's *peplos*: rosettes on the field and zig-zags on the edges. She is also barefoot. On her neck the pearls of a necklace are denoted with small punched circles. A similar circle on her ear represents a small earring. The hair is covered by a *sakkos*, tied with a ribbon turned several times around her head.

The last figure is Minos, the Cretan king, shown standing in three quarters with the head in profile facing left. He wears sandals and a mid-leg long *himation* with fringes on the edges (FIG. 23). The *himation* covers his left hand and shoulder, but leaves uncovered half of the chest and the right hand, on which he holds a long sceptre, topped by some sort of lotus flower. He has a short beard and his long hair is dressed in a very specific way. Two long tresses of the back hair are crossing around his head and tied above the front, half-hidden under the locks falling freely over his temples and front.

The shape of the kantharos with high looping band handles is familiar in both, red figure and black glaze fabrics, of the Attic and the Boeotian pottery (FIG. 15). Its profile corresponds to ceramic exemplars of the middle or the third quarter of the 5th century

15

16

17

18

19

BC.[52] The classical kantharos, according to the actual finds, does not seem to have been very popular in Attic pottery, despite its frequent representations, mostly in Dionysian context, and despite Phrynichus claiming that a certain potter named Chairestratos produced one hundred kantharoi a day.[53] Metal kantharoi are already known since the Late Bronze Age, both in Mycenean and north-eastern Balkan contexts.[54] The classical form, however, seems to stem from some East Greek and Etruscan

52 Caskey – Beazley 1931, p. 16-17, fig. 13(Hieron potter, and no 6: Penthesileia painter); Heimberg 1982, pl. 1.3, 1.9-10, 67; Mparakari-Gleni 1984, p. 182, fiig. 10, pl. 80a (Boeotian, ca. 440 BC); Boardman 1989, fig. 225 (*Alexander Group*).

53 Phrynichus *Comasts*, cited by Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 11.474b.

54 For example: Strong 1966, p. 38, fig. 9, pl. 2B; Bothmer 1984, p. 17, no 3; Marazov 1998, p. 229, no 184; Kaltsas 2007, pp. 108-109, 119.

20

21

22

exemplars with lower conical foot.[55] During the late 6th or the early 5th century BC a silver kantharos with tubular stem appears in Macedonia, with possibly a floral medallion, made of gold or gilt silver foil, in its bottom.[56] A further phase in the evolution of the form is represented by a silver kantharos said to be have been found in Greece and kept in Baltimore. This vase would be dated in the fifties of the 5th century BC.[57] There is even a bronze exemplar from Medeon in Phokis, set on a wider conical foot, and dating from the third quarter of the 5th century BC (FIG. 16).[58]

But the closest parallels in shape to our kantharos are the two silver exemplars discovered in the Goliamata tumulus, in Duvanli, and dated in the forties of the 5th century BC (FIGS. 69, 98).[59] The similarities are particularly conspicuous with the one decorated with gilt figures. It originally had also cross-bars and knobs on the handles, preserved in very poor condition and not restored.[60] The shape and the proportions of the cup and the handles of the Bojkov

55 STRONG 1966, p. 58, pl. 8 B-C; *MER EGÉE* 1979, p. 147, no 83; BRIJDER 1988, pp. 103-114, figs. 1-4; WEIDIG 2007, fig. 1:8 (Bazzano).

56 ADAM-VELENI 2012, ill. on p. 15.

57 HILL 1960, p. 2 with ill.; OLIVER 1977, pp. 28-29, no 4.

58 ROLLEY ET AL 1975, p. 96, no B4, fig. 171.

59 FILOW 1934, pp. 106-111, nos 4-5, figs. 132-135, pl. 7; VICKERS - GILL 1994, p. 40, ill. frontispiece; MARAZOV 1998, pp. 148-149, no 77.

60 Parts of them are visible on FILOW 1934, fig. 132.

Collection exemplar are comparable also to those of some low base kantharoi, often called *karchesia* and known in silver and bronze.[61]

The stemmed type evolved further, both in metal ware and pottery, with a tendency to become slenderer and more gracious, and eventually turning into more mannerist versions.[62] Sometime, probably towards the end of the first quarter of the 4th century BC, a new type of horizontal, but strongly curving up, double handles replaced the vertical band handles, for the first time possibly in a Corinthian bronze workshop.[63] A multitude of bronze and silver, high and low, simple calyx and moulded rim exemplars are known of this new type, which proliferated during the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[64]

The figures in the two separate but complementary scenes, as each of them stands alone and self-contained, seem to emanate from the principles and to share the qualities of the monumental art, possibly the wall-paintings, and certainly the free standing statuary of around the middle of the 5th century BC. Several isolated details, as well as the overall impression, point towards this period.

Theseus, in particular, represents a masterpiece adhering to the *Polyclitan Canon* and the *contrapposto* introduced by the Argive sculptor.[65] This stance consisted in placing the weight of the body in one leg and maintaining equilibrium between movement and repose. Theseus shows a leftwards turn, not only by the direction of the head, but also by the unevenness of the shoulders accentuated by the raised right hand, as well as by the ponderation, with the left leg bearing the weight and the right one free. The *Canon* (meaning in Greek "the Rule") was a treatise, in which Polyclitus laid consciously down the principles of construction and representation of the male nude, as an expression of the aesthetic theories of his time. It has been suggested that he built it up on widely appreciated principles, such as *symmetria, isonomia* and *rythmos* (commensurability, equilibrium in the medical sense and equality in the political one, and rhythm).[66] In this *Canonical* artistic approach of male nude figure design, great emphasis was given to the role of measurements and numbers, possibly echoing the philosophical and aesthetic ideas of the Pythagoreans.[67]

The pubic hair of the hero is shaped as a three-pointed curly surface, in a typically Athenian rendering, of an older east Greek sculptural convention, or fashion.[68] The figure of the hero shows much in common with the Polyclitan *Kyniskos*, a dedication of an athlete in Olympia, and with a statue of a naked bearded man in Munich, both dated ca. 440 BC.[69] For the impact of the new sculptural stance on minor arts, one suffice to look at the beautifully outlined warrior on a white-ground lekythos by the Achilles painter, which is almost an exact mirror image of our Theseus, and dates from the beginning of the second half of the 5th century BC. The head and the hair rendering find close analogies on the grave relief of a youth from Megara, and on the *Doryphoros*, the emblematic work of Polyclitus.[70] More striking similarities are observed with the so-called "*Diomedes*", a statue known from Roman copies, attributed also to Polyclitus and dated 440-430 BC.[71] Even if the ponderation is here reversed, the stance is the same, the head takes the same strong left-turn, and the stubble bear on the rear part of the cheeks gives a hint for the possible model of our figure. The magnificence of the pose, its harmony and equilibrium, and by this its self-assurance, are so compelling, that I would grand the possibility the model for our Theseus to have also inspired, more than a century later, the Lysippean figure of Alexander. Actually, the connection between Polyclitus and *Alexander*

61 Williams 1996, pp. 232-233, fig. 4 ; Marazov 2013, p. 298, cat. 116.

62 Ure 1962, p. 373 nos 10-11, pl. 112; Kern 1964, figs. 1-3.

63 Sideris 2000, pp. 13-17, fig. 17; Sideris 2002, pp. 173-176.

64 Zymi – Sideris 2003, pls. 14c and 16a.

65 Rolley 1999, pp. 28-33.

66 Tanner 2006, pp. 117-121; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, pp. 52-54.

67 Pollitt 1972, 106-108; Stewart 1990, pp. 160-163; Hurwit 1995, pp. 9-13; Tarn-Steiner 2001, pp. 39-41.

68 Smith 2007, 103-122; Rolley 1994, figs. 187, 292, 337, 345, 348, 359.

69 Boardman 1985, fig. 187; Ridgway 1995, p. 184-185; Rolley 1999, pp. 35-38, figs. 24-25.

70 Boardman 1985, fig. 167; Rolley 1999, pp. 28-32, figs. 11-12.

71 Rolley 1999, pp. 42-43, fig. 30.

Doryphoros by Lysippos is an idea as old as Cicero, which has been revived, justly I believe, by Andrew Stewart.[72]

Next to Theseus, Athena's figure leaves no doubts about the monumentality of the inspiration sources. The Athenian toreut seems to have known and assimilated in his design the lessons of the Phidian *Parthenos*, the gold-and-ivory statue in the Parthenon completed by 438 BC, especially for the *contrapposto* (right weight leg, left free leg), the folds of the belted *peplos*, and the relatively small, snake-edged *aegis* the goddess is wearing on her upper chest.[73] She does not wear a helmet, and in this respect she may stem, as a general inspiration, from the *Athena Lemnia*, another early work of Phidias dated ca. 450 BC, with which our figure shares also the bent right hand.[74] The head, however, is quite different than that associated with *Lemnia* by Adolf Furtwängler in the late 19th century.[75] The hairdo in particular looks very much like that of a young girl on a stele from Nea Kallicrateia in Macedonia (450-440 BC), or that of Persephone on the *Triptolemus relief* from Eleusis (440-430 BC). This fashion, however, seems to have already started in the sixties of the 5th century BC, and it continues on the *Amazons* of the Ephesian contest, also dated 440-430 BC, which are variously attributed, but they certainly include one by Polyclitus and one by Phidias.[76] At roughly the same period the richly decorated garments of women and goddesses became current on the Athenian red figure vases, especially in the works

23

24

of Kleophon and Eretria painters.[77] An armed Athena assisting Theseus, on a somewhat later cup by Aison, wears also a *peplos* of ornamented fabric.[78] The third figure of this scene, labelled "Knosos" and portrayed as an adult bearded man, obeys the iconographical conventions applied to the images of elder and reputable men. The *himation* covering the left shoulder and the wooden stick are recurrent attributes for mythical or/and venerated figures in the works of Dinos, Nekyia, and Codrus painters, all active in the third quarter of the 5th century BC.[79]

72 Cicero *Brutus* 296 "*...ut Polycliti doryphorum sibi Lysippus aiebat...*" ("...as Lysippus said he had done by studying the famous *Doryphorus* statue of Polycleitus..."). Indeed, a Theseus-model could also be considered for Alexander, and not only for his sculpted image. Stewart 1990, pp. 161-163 figs. 39, 59, 62-63; the stance of our Theseus corresponds better to the *Stanford type* (despite the sword and *himation*).

73 Boardman 1985, figs. 97-103; Rolley 1999, pp. 58-63, figs. 44-46; Lapatin 2001, pp. 66-68; Platt 2011, pp. 85-91.

74 Rolley 1994, p. 383, figs. 412-413; Hurwit 1999, pp. 27-28, fig. 28.

75 An association questioned by Hartswick 1983 and defended by Protzman 1987 and Palagia 1987, figs. 2-4, who produced further Classical *comparanda*. See also Cullen Davison 2009, pp. 50-54.

76 For this hairstyle, see Gikaki 2011, pp. 161-162, nos Ha-P 1, 3-4. For the reliefs and the Amazons: Boardman 1985, fig. 144, 190-195 (esp. 194); Rolley 1994, fig. 376; Rolley 1999, pp.39-42, figs. 26-28.

77 Boardman 1989, figs. 171, 174, 233, 235.

78 Boardman 1989, fig. 292.1.

79 Boardman 1989, figs. 181, 184, 238, 241.

The wedge-shaped beard, an incontestably archaistic feature still present on the great bronze *Zeus* from the Cape Artemision, seems to lose gradually its stiffness and becomes more natural, like on the *Riace Warrior B*, to which is closer our Knosos figure.[80] Either as an iconographical convention, or a belated real-life fashion, the wedge-shaped beard continued well into the third quarter of the 5th century vase imagery of gods and kings, possibly as a sign of inveteracy and respectability.[81]

But what is more exciting about Knosos figure is its very identity. I don't know of any mention in the ancient sources about any eponymous hero called Knossos (or Knosos). And I don't find much merit in inventing one right now, based exclusively on the present figure, instead of accepting a much more plausible personification of the city of Knossos.[82]

The issue of cities' personifications has been addressed by several scholars, and most recently for Classical Athens, by Amy Smith.[83] Athens itself is usually represented visually in her foreign relations either by her goddess Athena, or by Demos (the citizens' body), shown as an elder man.

In local Attic circumstances, however, Demos, Boule, Phyle and various nymphs and eponymous heroes play a more significant role. The earliest such images are known from the reliefs decorating the upper part of stone stelae, on which various decrees and treaties were inscribed. None of them antedates the last quarter of the 5th century BC.[84]

Foreign cities and regions were also occasionally represented in the Athenian arts of the end of the 5th and of the 4th century BC. Smith rightly rules out of the cities' personifications list some figures labeled "Nikopolis", since no actual city of such name existed in Greece, before the foundation of one by Octavian.[85] Epidauros caring the young Asclepios, on a Meidian plate, may be related to the introduction of Asclepios cult in Athens in 420/419 BC.[86] A representation of Sparta, on a cup of the early 4th century BC, has been linked to the ambivalent Athenian feelings towards the winner of the Peloponnesian War.[87] Two figures on reliefs, from the last decade of the 5th century, are identified by inscriptions respectively as Messana in Sicily, and Kios in Propontis.[88] More unlabeled figures are tentatively recognized as city or region personifications in the 4th century BC, including Syracuse, Salamis in Cyprus, Salamis the island, Korkyra, Aphytis in Chalcidice, Peloponnesus, and the Demoi of Troizen and Samos.[89] On a noticeable decree of 386/85 BC, honoring the Odrysian king Hebryzelmis, a female figure may be interpreted as a personification of Thrace.[90]

We may go a little too far in time, but it is noteworthy that the patronizing and strongly gendered relation between the "male" metropolis (should we say rather *patropolis*?) and the "female" colony, observed in a passage by the comic poet Eupolis and on several reliefs, continues well into the early Hellenistic period.[91] On a silvered box mirror lid, kept in the Louvre, we find the chiselled and labelled figures of *Korinthos* (as an enthroned, bearded, Zeus-like man) and *Leukas* (as a beautiful young woman, despite the island having a male eponymous hero and *oikistes*).[92]

In conclusion to this "personification excursus" I would say that our Knosos is to this day the earliest known personification of a city in the Athenian art. Besides, the distinction between an invented eponymous hero, and a personification of a city, could be

80 Rolley 1994, pp. 333-336, 347-350, figs. 343-344, 363.

81 Boardman 1989, figs. 139 (Midas), 146, 157.1, 162, 220 (Persian king).

82 From a grammatical point of view *Κνωσσός* in Greek could be either a male noun (like *ἀγρός*) or a female one (like *ὁδός*). The city personification in this narrative visual art could represent the embodiment of the *topos*. I don't really follow Mylonopoulos 2013, p. 395, when he sees the creation of eponymous heroes as "a certainly more attractive alternative to the personification of a city".

83 Shapiro 1993; Stafford 2000 and 2005; Borg 2002; Messerschmidt 2003; Smith 2011.

84 Smith 2011, pp. 92-102.

85 Smith 2011, p. 102.

86 Mitchell-Boyask 2007, p. 106; Wickkiser 2008, p. 62.

87 Kourinou-Pikoula 1994, pp. 803-804; Larson 2001, p. 152.

88 Messana is also represented on coins. Larson 2001, p. 219. Kios happened to have an *oikistes* of the same name. Consequently this image may not be a personification, or, more probably, it could assume both functions at once. Strabo 12.4.3; Smith 2011, p. 103.

89 Smith 2011, pp. 103-105

90 Smith 2011, p. 104, cat. DR6.

91 On Eupolis, see below nt. 95.

92 *LIMC* VI (1992), p. 102, Korinthos 1 (entry by Ch. Papageorgiadou); Schwarzmaier 1997, cat. 203 (Corinth as a Zeus-like figure and Leukas as a young woman).

much less sharp for a Classical viewer, than for our post-modern eyes. I tend to believe that the mental and semantic leap, of seeing a single figure as an acceptable representative for an entire community, was primarily induced by the drama sets, in which the *chorus* leader was the individualized expression of the collective feelings.[93] Moreover, it is precisely in the literature that we meet for the first time with personifications of such eluding entities, like Hellas and the Athenian Demos.[94] Lastly, in a fragment of the play *Cities* (by the comic poet Eupolis, mentioned above), describing a chorus of women, there were at least three foreign personified cities (all allies of Athens: Tenos, Chios, Cyzicus) parading before an obscenely commenting audience.[95]

On the side B of the kantharos the figures repeat most of the features observed already on the side A. Ariadne on the Attic vases is most often shown as the companion of Dionysos. Whenever she is with Theseus, she either assists in the Minotaur killing, or sleeps in the scene of abandonment. I don't know of any faithful iconographical parallel, comprising exactly the figures involved here. But their postures and garments fit well with the trends in vase painting during the third quarter of the 5th century. The hairdo of the young woman is very much alike to that of Athena on the side A of our kantharos, stemming from the *Ephesian Amazons*, and similar to that worn by the so-called *Doria Pamphyli Aphrodite*, the later dated ca. 430 BC.[96] But the most arresting resemblance, possibly because the graphic nature of the media enables a more accurate comparison, is with the head of Arethusa on a Syracusan coin of 450-435 BC.[97] The little Eros at the feet of Ariadne finds many analogies on vases by the Eretria painter, as well as by Meidias and his circle.[98] Aphrodite (un)covering herself and holding her mantle high above her left shoulder follows freely the same posture as Athena on the North metope 32 of Parthenon, and Helen on a copy of the Nemesis statue base from Rhamnous.[99] The theme evolved already by the thirties of the 5th century BC to a version, where the figure wears no *himation* and holds instead over her shoulder the back lap of her *peplos*, as on a votive relief in Copenhagen, and on a decree relief from Eleusis.[100] The *sakkos* (literally: cloth bag) worn by Aphrodite and covering almost entirely the hair but for the parts around her face, was a very popular headgear throughout the 5th century BC, and to all possible female figures, including goddesses, muses, common mortals, deceased on grave stelae, and even prostitutes.[101] It appears, however, with higher frequency among the vases dating from the middle decades of the century and by some particular artists, such as the the Pistoxenos, and the Phiale painters. Furthermore, on a crater of the Polugnotan group dated 440-430 BC, Aphrodite is shown wearing a very similar *sakkos*, with a ribbon wrapped several times around.[102] Images of women with *sakkos* (including Aphrodite) from just about the middle of the century are known both in monumental sculpture and in small scale bronzes.[103]

The iconography of Minos, last figure on the kantharos, is very often connected to Theseus. He is usually present in the slaying of Minotaur.[104] His scepter, his way of wearing the *himation*, and mainly his hairdo, all look quite aged, compared to the

93 Paxson 1994, pp. 8-15, 82-88.

94 Hellas: Smith 2011, p. 92. The Athenian Demos was not always perceived as the honoured citizenry; in the years of the Peloponnesian War it was often identified to the commoners, acting as a conservative and uncultured agent. Thucydides 5.3, Aristophanes *Hippeis* 1111-1118, and Eupolis *Demoi* frs. 99-144 KA deal with this unworthy face of Demos.

95 He was active in the two first decades of the Peloponnesian War. Eupolis frs. 245-247 KA, see Rosen 1997.

96 Boardman 1985, figs. 190-195; *LIMC* II (1984), pl 25, Aphrodite 175 (entry by A. Delivorrias); Bol 2004, pp, 193, figs 115a-b. Stewart 2012, pp. 273-274, fig. 5.

97 Gikaki 2011, pp. 154, 171, no Ha M 2.

98 Boardman 1989, figs. 235, 302, , 304.

99 Rolley 1999, pp. 89, 136, fig. 77 (Athena), 120 (Helen) dated respectively 446-440 BC and 430-410 BC.

100 Boardman 1985, figs. 171, 178, dated respectively ca 430 and 422 BC. It is noteworthy that this particular version (although reversed, the right hand above the shoulder) elaborated around 400 BC by Callimachus, became later one of the most popular images of Aphrodite, the so-called *Venus Paris-Naples* type.

101 Fischer 2008, pp. 2-3.

102 Boardman 1989, figs. 67 (Pistoxenos painter, Aphrodite), 70-71, 123, 128, 137, 161 (Polygnotan crater, Aphrodite).

103 Boardman 1985, figs. 133.2, 171; Rolley 1994, pp. 360-361, figs, 379-380; Franken 2010, p. 163, fig. 1.

104 *LIMC* VI (1992), Lycos III, 1 and Minos 19A, 21, 22A, 29; *CVA Fiesdole, Collezione Constantini* 1, pp. 18-19, pl. (2549) 37. 2; Malibu, Getti Museum 71.AE.254.

other figures. The fringes of the *himation* are of the same type as those of the short *chiton* worn by Dionysos, on the kantharos of Goliamata tumulus, Duvanli.[105] The hairdo with two tresses wrapped around the head started already in the 480s with the so-called '*Blond boy*', continued with the *Artemision Zeus* ca. 460 BC, and got out of fashion before the middle of the century.[106] On an amphora by the Oinocles painter, dated in the 450s Minos is shown in very similar attire and hairdo (FIG. 24).[107] Such dated fashion can be explained by the royal status of Minos, by the realities of the Athenian life, or rather both. It is quite possible, indeed, that in Athens of the 440s and 430s some elder and conservative aristocrats, who were young when this fashion was introduced, continued doing their hair in the same way. Together with the wedge-shaped beard, they would have been perceived as signs of distinction and respectability.

The episode represented by two complementary scenes on the Bojkov Collection kantharos should be situated in Crete, at the arrival of Theseus.[108] Theseus receives instructions and encouragement by Athena, the involvement of which is not attested by any ancient author, but she regularly assists the hero on the Attic vase imagery.[109] In fact, it would be inconceivable for any Athenian of the Classical era, that Theseus could ever bring his mission to a successful end without the help of their city-goddess. The city of Knos(s)os is watching in curiosity and suspense. On the other side Ariadne is conducted by Aphrodite, with the intercession of Eros, to the passion for Theseus, while Minos watches helplessly.

The choice of the episode could have been motivated by the Athenian ideological program to promote the naval supremacy of the city (defeat of Minos by Theseus), and simultaneously to advertise the Panhellenic appeal of its culture (Ariadne in love with Theseus). Or it could simply remind the antique and divine roots of the city's power. In any case, it serves perfectly the ambitions of the Athenian state ideology during the era of the Parthenon construction.

The individual iconographic elements studied above seem to emanate from sculptural models of the decade preceding and succeeding the middle of the century. Some belated features may denote a certain iconographic conservatism. Other elements, however, betray the knowledge of novel achievements on the Parthenon. In accordance with these observations this exceptional toreutic masterpiece should be dated in 440-435 BC.

The inscriptions on the ground line come under the -rare in toreutics- category of labels.[110] Six of them, more or less well preserved, identify the six figures. The seventh inscription, of which only three letters are still visible (...IΘE...), could be the toreut's signature. The execution on the gilded ground band, the use of the same type and size dotted letters, as well as the choice of a discreet position, do not match well with an owner's or a dedicatory inscription. There are many Greek names containing the string *-ithe-*, like Lysitheos, Mnasitheos, Euxitheos etc., most of them attested in Athens during the 5th century BC. From the remains of the inscription, however, it would be hazardous to attempt any identification of the toreut, despite Pliny mentioning in his list of famous "*celatores*" the names of Boethus and Pytheas.[111] The first is actually mentioned before Mys, who collaborated with the painter Parrhasios, but the order of presentation in Pliny's list may be not strictly chronological. Most scholars are inclined to identify Boethus with the famous sculptor of the same name, active in the 2nd century BC.[112] Pytheas is mentioned last in the list, but the description of a phiale made by him (with an emblem representing Odysseus and Diomedes caring off the *Palladion*) insinuates rather a Hellenistic creation.

105 Filow 1934, p. 109, fig. 133; Marazov 1998, p. 148-149, cat. 77.

106 Boardman 1991, fig. 148; Rolley 1994, figs. 334, 343.

107 *CVA London, British Museum* 5, III.Ic.6, pl. (304) 54.1 B.

108 Pausanias 1.17.3 and 1.42; Hyginus *Poetic Astronomy* 2.5; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Epitome* 1.8; Plutarch *Theseus* 29. Agard 1928, p. 88; Den Boer 1969, pp. 10, 25-26; Davie 1982, p. 26, Shapiro 1992, pp. 37-40.

109 *LIMC* VIII (1997), Theseus 36, 39, 54, 193, 240, 309, 311, Walker 1995, p. 52 discusses the transformation of Athena in the Athenian art from protector of Heracles to protector of Theseus.

110 See above p. 19

111 Pliny *Natural History* 33.55.154-156. On Boethus, see also Cicero, *In Verrem* 4.32; Porphyrius on Horace, *Epistles* 1.5.1. Both names could in some plausible Greek transcription contain the extant letters of the seventh inscription.

112 Stewart 1990, pp. 229-30, 305-06. Ridgway 1990, pp. 232-233, 327-328.

3.4
THESEUS AND SCIRON ON A SILVER KYLIX

Veliko Tarnovo, District History Museum, inv. 1728 P. Found in Kapinovo, near Veliko Tarnovo. H. 4.1 cm, rim diam. 13 cm. The vase is raised from a relatively thick sheet of silver with centring dots on inner and outer sides of the bottom (for both the hammering of the shape, and the execution of the circles around the medallion). The base and handles were cast. Chiselled and gilt decoration. Only few traces persist of the original gilding, mostly on the heads of the figures and on the laurel wreath surrounding them. The vase has lost one of its handles, and shows a slight deformation of the rim on the side above the heads of the figures, but otherwise it is in very good condition (FIG. 25).

The shape is again that of the classical "Rhenia cup" with a slightly flaring lip rising from the almost flat bottom.[113] There is a low ring base, and the handles were "Π" shaped and round in section (only one preserved). In the bottom interior there is a scene of two male figures encircled by a narrow band decorated with an ionic kymation. Two laurel branches, interlaced under the figures feet and above the head of the younger figure, are creating an elegant wreath.

The scene shows on the left side a naked beardless young man, wearing only a weaving in the wind *chlamys*, attacking an elder bearded, also naked man on the right side, already kneeling with his left knee on the barren soil. The young man, whose body is shown in three quarters, immobilizes his opponent by stepping with his left foot on the elder man's right knee, and by grabbing him from the hair with his left hand. The young man, holding a club on his right raised hand, is about to manage a decisive blow on the elder man, who seems only faintly resisting by reaching out one hand and trying to liberate the grasp on his hair by the other. The composition obeys the rules of the classical Attic *tondo* formalism, creating a pentagon inscribed in a circle.[114] The pentagon's base is represented by the soil, while its lower sides are

25

26

designed by the left tight of the fallen elder man and the space between the right foot and the *chlamys* edge of the younger man. The upper sides of the pentagon are created by the *chlamys* folds and the engaged left hands of both figures. All lines lead the viewer's gaze towards the head of the young man.

The *chlamys* of the young is attached with a round broach under his neck, and bears an arrowhead motif on the edge. Its floating extremity interrupts the ionic *kymation* band, as do the soil, the bend elbows and the lower feet of both figures. The toreut mistook the outer line of the *kymation* band for the inner one, resulting in a mismatch of the band sections on either side of the *chlamys* extremity. The head and

113 See above, nt. 38.

114 WEBSTER 1939, p. 123.

facial hair of both figures is rendered with dense and bold weaving lines, while their pubic hair by shorter and shallower ones. The face of the younger figure is shown in profile with a straight foreword gaze and a noble simplicity, while the elder's face is rendered in three quarters, turned downwards, and grimacing in a mixture of malice and humiliation (FIG. 26).

There can be no doubt about the identification of the figures as Theseus and one of the bandits met during his journey to Athens, most probably Sciron. Ivan Marazov has suggested a rather improbable and iconographically unparalleled episode involving Heracles and the king Diomedes, and his view has been unquestionably shared by others.[115] However, as Konstantin Rabadjiev has observed, the only known document possibly depicting Diomedes from Thrace dates from the Roman era. And yet he rejects this identification on the ground of iconographical discrepancies (garments of the king, missing horses).[116] Analogous objections apply as well to the Kapinovo kylix. Furthermore, a king would have never been shown nude and unarmed in a combat scene in the Greek art, especially a barbarian one.[117] In contrast the Theseus and Sciron scene is recurrent from the late Archaic period on and until the later 4th century BC.[118] It is regularly represented in the so-called *Cycle of deeds cups*,[119] and on some of them the postures and gestures are exactly the same as on the silver kylix from Thrace.[120]

The scene is indeed very similar to those depicting Theseus and Sinis in the same period and, often, on the same vases.[121] The distinctive elements of the two stories, when they are depicted -and on many exemplars, just as on our kylix, they are not- include a podanipter (foot-wash basin), the monster-turtle, and some rocks in the Sciron scene. The 'canonical' Sinis scene shows one or two usually bent trees, the bandit's death instruments.[122] On the Kapinovo kylix we have only the rocky (?) soil, but the general composition fits, in my view, better with the Sciron episode.

The simplicity of the linear means, by which the artist achieves such a high expressivity and dramatic impression, is equal to or even higher than that observed on the best red figure and white ground Attic vases of the third quarter of the 5th century. But on the toreutic work there is no such thing as the vase painter's *pentimenti*, hence the failure on the *kymation* boarding the scene.[123]

3.5 THESEUS AND PIRITHOUS RAPING HELEN ON A SILVER KANTHAROS

Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection inv. 2165. Reportedly from Thrace. H. to rim 12.2 cm, rim diam. 11.5 cm, h. with handles 17.1 cm, rim thickness 2.3 mm, body h. 7.7 cm, stem h. 4.5 cm, base diam. 6.2 cm, l. with handles 18 cm, handle w. 17 – 19 mm, cross-bar l. 19 mm, traces of lost knobs dimensions 12 x 5 mm, silenus mask dimensions 27 x 21.5 mm, max. h. of gilt figures 5.9 cm, wgt. 379.9 g.

The vase has a hammered body and foot, the later possibly hammered out of a cast model, and with the hammer traces still well visible on its underside (FIG. 36). The handle elements were made of a band of silver, and all parts were eventually soldered together. The silenus masks inside the upper handle attachments are embossed on thin silver foil and then gilded. One of theme is a restoration replica of the preserved other. The ring on the stem is chased, while the figures and the vegetal ornaments are chiselled and leaf gilded. The knobs on the lower part of the

115 MARAZOV 1998, pp. 174-175, no 104; NANKOV 2010, 48; TREISTER 2012, p. 69.

116 RABADJIEV 2001, pp. 18-19.

117 On the uses of nakedness (also vs. nudity, heroic nakedness, etc.) in the Greek art and visual culture, see STEWART 1997, pp. 24-42, 133-155, and LEE 2015, pp. 173-182.

118 *LIMC* VIII (1997), pp. 931-933, Theseus 97-122 (entry by J. Neils); esp. Theseus 100.

119 *LIMC* VIII (1997), pp. 925-929, Theseus 32-60 (entry by J. Neils); see esp. Theseus 45, 49, 52.

120 BOARDMAN 1989, figs. 240, 292.1, 3 (1: grabbing Sciron from the hair; 3: with Sinis in the same pose). For an interpretation of the Cycle of deeds as an expression of the Athenian dream to rule the Isthmus, see WALKER 1995, p. 42.

121 See below, subchapter 3.7 and nt. 166.

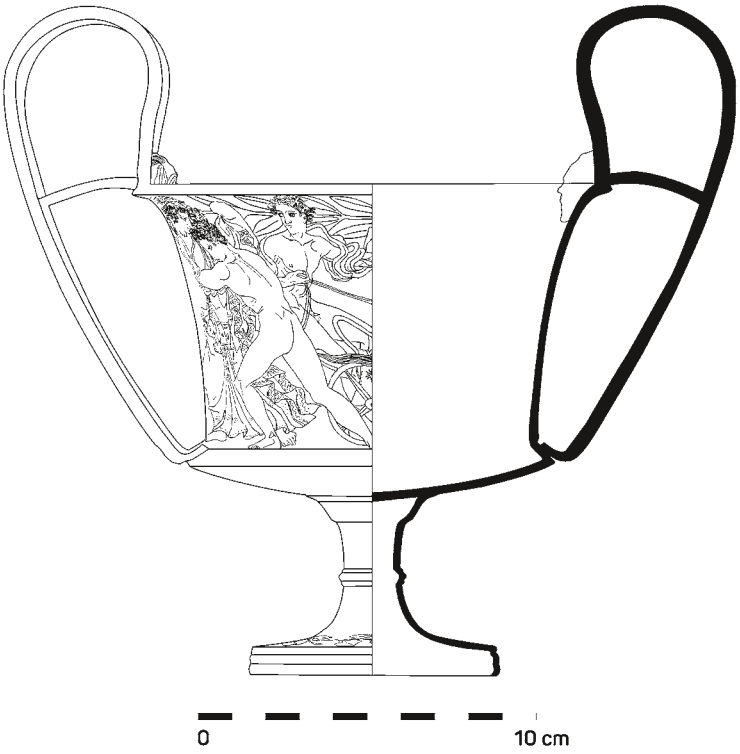
122 The Procrustes scene shows usually Theseus armed with a double axe, the instrument Procrustes himself used against his victims. See *LIMC* VIII (1997), pp. 933-934, Theseus 126-146 (entry by J. Neils).

123 *Pentimenti* are conventionally called the changes between the preliminary design and the final drawing on Attic vases; see ROBERTSON 1992, p. 5.

27

28

29



30

handles are lost (FIG. 30). The surface and the incised figures, as well as the entire vase, are in excellent condition of preservation. The back ground is regaining gradually the mat grey colour of tarnished silver, a fact which renders the gilt figures more salient and emphasizes their dramatic movements. The actual weight of the kantharos is 379.9 g but the knobs of the handles are missing. If they weighted something between 5 and 8 g, the original weight would be equivalent to 90 drachmae.[124]

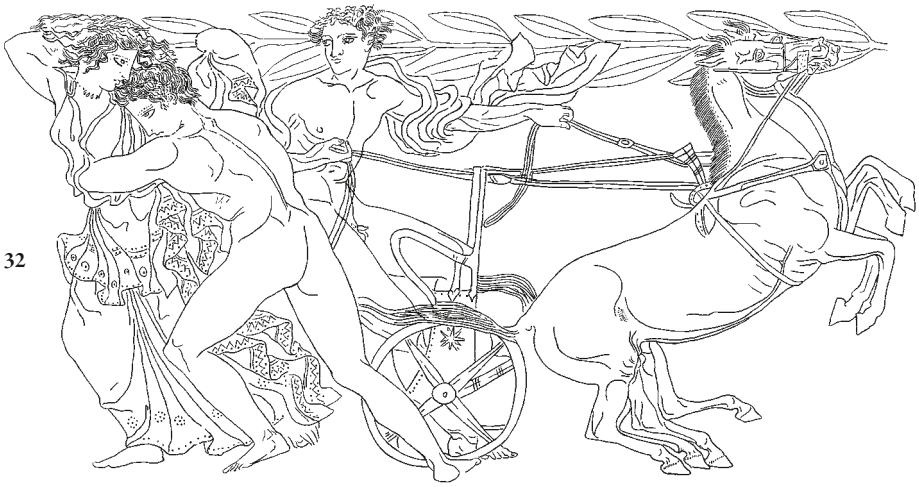
The vase, published by Marazov, represents the higher stage in the evolution of the Classical stemmed kantharos.[125] It has an open cup, slightly tapering downwards and passing through a short carination into the convex bottom. Its flaring upper part terminates in an outturned rim. Parallels are known more among Boeotian, than among Attic clay vases of the later 5th

31

124 Yielding thus, a drachma between 4.28 and 4.31 g.

125 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 79-82, no 53.

32



33

34

century BC.[126] The cylindrical foot has a wider disk on its top, on which is soldered the cup, and widens to a discoid base towards the bottom. In its middle there is a flat ring with a central ridge. The high looping band handles have lateral ridges on the outer surface (FIGS. 28-30).

The upper attachment of each handle was hidden from view by the application of a gilt silver mask of silenus. The rendering of the one preserved is more naturalistic, and its expression more serene and humanized than those of the similar masks on the Duvanli kantharos (FIG. 31).[127] It seems that we witness here the birth of a popular silenus type, with an almost triangular forelock in the centre of the front, which will flourish and thrive throughout the 4th century BC in toreutics, chiefly on stamnoid situlae.[128] And what is more remarkable with this start is that it represents the closest known to this day model for the portrait of Socrates, created probably on private initiative sometime between 385 and 360 BC.[129] Besides, Plato clearly states that Socrates was supposed to look like the silenoi, and especially like Marsyas.[130]

126 HEIMBERG 1982, pls. 1. 6-10; LEZZI-HAFTER 1976, pp. 85, 109, pl. 125 d-f, dated 420-410 BC (see also herein FIG. 80).

127 On the Duvanli kantharos masks, see FILOW 1934, p. 106, p. 8.5-6; VENEDIKOV – GERASIMOV 1973, cat. and pls. 163-169; DÖRIG 1987, p. 6, no 1. Parallels to the Duvanli masks: BOARDMAN 1985, figs. 90, 91.5, 91.10 (Parthenon *metopes*).

128 SIDERIS 2011, pp. 290-291, figs. 10-15, 18 (esp. fig. 13).

129 STAMBOLIDES 1987; ROLLEY 1999, p. 299, figs. 310-312.

130 PLATO *Symposium* 215 a-b.

35

36

Cross-bars connect the rim handle attachments to the outer handle sides. A laurel wreath under the rim is repeatedly interrupted by the heads of the figures. On the flat surface of the base of the foot there is a wreath of ivy leaves and vines.

The scene on the side A is easily identifiable, since one of the figures is labelled ΟΡΦΕΥΣ by a chiseled and gilt inscription. The hero is beardless, wears a *himation* which leaves bare his chest, and sandals. He is leaning back to avoid an attacking Thracian woman, and trying to protect himself with a seven stringed lyre in his raised right hand. A *lemniskos* (cloth band) hangs from the lyre. The left hand is also raised but covered by his mantle (FIG. 34). The woman with weaving long hair, attacking him with a double axe, wears a short sleeveless *chiton* of almost transparent fabric, and she is barefoot. A *himation* is wrapped around her waist. Tattoos decorate her limbs: stars on the arms and zig-zag lines on the forearms and lower legs (FIG. 28).[131]

Behind her, another woman rises her right hand to throw a stone against Orpheus (FIG. 35). She wears a long belted *peplos* with geometric motifs on its hem, and a long *apoptygma*. Along the free extremities of the belt hang small fusiform, crescent-shaped, and triangular, presumably metallic, pendants. Some similar isolated finds from Thrace may pertain to such a use.[132] The undone fastening of the *peplos* over her right shoulder leaves bare one breast, much in the way of Amazons' representations. Her right hand is hidden under a richly decorated mantle, which billows behind her . The fashion of one bare breast in the Athenian art expanded after the *Ephesian Amazons* and until the end of the 5th century BC, to include other female figures, such as the Nereids, the Thracian women, the Maenads, Nike and Aphrodite.[133] The Thracian woman represents a new addition in the categories elaborated by Beth Cohen, since her breast has been divested by violence, though not violence received, but violence perpetrated by her.[134]

The landscape is evoked in unusual detail with plants, rocky ground, two archaistic ithyphallic herms, and a pile of stones. Marazov states that two herms were flanking the entrance to the Kabeirion of Samothrace, and thus our image may precisely evoke this sanctuary.[135] The passage of Herodotus, which he cites however, says only that the Athenians learned to make ithyphallic herms from the Pelasgians, and that this was explained in a tale narrated during the mysteries. There is nothing about herms in the sanc-

131 On Thracian tatoos and their meaning in pottery iconography, see TSIAFAKIS 2015, pp. 108-113.

132 TORBOV 2005, pp. 99, 104, cat. 38-39, 116, pls. VII 4-5, 7 and XX 4-5, 7; TONKOVA 2010, pp. 51-52, figs. 15-16 ; MARTINEZ ET AL. 2015, p. 274, cat. 232, 234.

133 ROLLEY 1999, figs. 26-28, 52, 111, 114, 127, 137, 157-159.

134 COHEN 1998, esp. pp. 70-72, 79-80.

135 MARAZOV 2011, p. 80-82.

tuary.[136] Besides, the murder of Orpheus by the Thracian women could not take place on that island. Fritz Graf in his exhaustive and valuable analysis of the Orpheus mythology makes it clear.[137] The mythical poet-singer died according to the sources in the Pierian city Libethras, or close to Dion, an area, which was still by his time a Thracian territory, and the Classical Athenians remembered this fact.[138]

The toreut here probably created a scene by blending various elements of the Orphic myth, or he possibly expressed the importance of herms in the Athenian visual culture. An example of a famous archaistic herm, the *Hermes Propylaeos* by Alcamenes, was erected in the Acropolis Propylaea during the same period, to which the Bojkov Collection kantharos should be dated too.[139] Moreover, let's not forget that Hermes was a liminal deity, and the pile of stones, which in Greek is called a *hermax* (ἕρμαξ), shown next to the herms was always marking crossroads or boundaries (FIG. 34). For the ancient Greek viewer of this scene the meaning of herms could be dual: real space boundaries, such as the precinct of a sanctuary, as well as mental space boundaries, such as those between Orpheus' cultivated world and Thracian women's barbarity.[140]

The scene on our vase belongs to the second variation according to Felix Schoeller's distinction, in which Orpheus holds the *chelys* lyre with his right hand above his head. This is the later of the two variants and was in fashion from about the middle of the 5th century BC.[141]

The side B scene is less obvious, since there is no inscription to assist its identification. A light chariot with two horses (probably stallions), standing on their hind legs, occupies the right part of the scene. A young beardless man holds the reins with both hands. He is naked but for a billowing *himation*, which passes behind his back and wraps around each arm. He looks left in suspense, towards a scene of abduction full of tension, but without much apparent violence. Another young naked man just got grip of a young woman under the breasts. Her long hair flutters in the wind, and her long *peplos* and her mantle with ornamented edges billow on the opposite direction of her movement, as to underline the intensity of her resistance (FIGS. 29, 32-33).

The interpretation of the scene as a rape is well established by several examples on Attic vases illustrating the various males performing the same grip on the waist of females.[142] But who are here the participants? Marazov proposed to see the rape of the daughters of the Messenian king Leucippus, based on a very similar (although reversed) scene on an almost contemporary Apulian volute crater by the Sisyphus painter.[143] Their story goes that despite them been already betrothed to their cousins, the Apharides Idas and Lynceus, they have been abducted by the Dioscures, Castor and Pollux.[144] The problem is that the Leucippides are always and everywhere two. Actually, precisely being two distinguishes them from all other known rapes and abductions represented in the ancient art. And on the Bojkov Collection kantharos we only have one, a fact which cannot be simply imputed to lack of space.

In my view, the toreut intentionally represented

136 HERODOTUS 2.51.4: "ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο: οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηίκῃ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται." and in translation: "The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and they did this because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries." The story narrated during the mysteries is reported by CICERO *De Natura Deorum* 3.22.

137 GRAFF 1987, esp. pp. 85-90. Collected vase imagery of his death in TSIAFAKI 1998, pp. 48-77.

138 CONON *FGrHist* 26 F 1.45; PLUTARCH *Alexander* 14.8; DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1.5; PAUSANIAS 9.30.7; *Orphicorum Fragmenta* T 38-41, and a first vague mention in EURIPIDES *Bacchae* 560. The only exception is PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE fr. 641, 48, who gives the Mount Pangaeum as the Orpheus death place. On the expulsion of Thracians from Pieria THUCYDIDES 2.99, and later STRABO 10.2.71.

139 ROLLEY 1999, pp. 145-146, figs. 130-131.

140 On piles of stones and herms, see NICANDER *Theriaca* 150; THEOPHRASTUS *Characters* 16

141 SCHOELLER 1969, pp. 55-59; MATHESON 1995, p. 231; MANNACK 2001, p. 90.

142 *LIMC* VIII (1997), Nereids 283-285, 292 (exactly the same representation as on the crater with the Leucippides by the Underworld painter, but here are Peleus and Thetis).

143 MARAZOV 2011, p. 82. The previews false localization of the Orpheus scene in Samothrace, here already serves him as an argument for the identification of Dioscures; needless to add that even this supposed connection of Dioscures with the Cabeiri is rather farfetched. For the Apulian crater, see TRENDALL 1989, fig. 35.

144 PAUSANIAS 3.26.3 and 4.2.3; PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS 3.11.2; PSEUDO-HYGINUS *Fabulae* 80.

just one raped female, because what is meant here is the rape of Helen of Sparta by Theseus and Pirithous. According to the sources once, the Athenian hero pledged with his friend Pirithous, the king of Thessaly, to take a daughter of Zeus as bride for each of them. Theseus chose Helen and Pirithous helped him carry her off. Helen was though too young for marriage. Theseus took her to Aphidnae, in the North of Athens, under the protection of his own mother Aethra, and left with Pirithous to help him in his turn to abduct Persephone from the Underworld, a task in which they failed. Meanwhile the Dioscures, Helen's twin brothers, have taken her back to Sparta.[145] The iconographical theme of Helen's rape fitted well the anti-Spartan feelings in Athens during the Peloponnesian War, of which the last and most dramatic phase, ironically, took place in Decelea, an Athenian fort very close to Aphidnae. Herodotus actually narrates how the inhabitants of Decelea have been treated well by the Spartans, in memory of a Decelean man who led the Dioscures to Aphidnae.[146] In contrast to the highly meaningful and symbolic rape of a Spartan princess by an Athenian hero, the myth of Leucippides bore no specific semantic value for the Athenian audience, except possibly as a tribute to the Dioscures.[147] Helen was a reference figure deeply anchored in the extrapoetic narrative of Classical Athens long before Euripides play. This narrative, which includes the accounts by Herodotus and Thucydides, encompassed also various expressions in visual arts, such as Helen on the statue base of Nemesis in Rhamnous, Helen in the red figure pottery iconography, and the representations on at least three silver vases discussed in this book.[148]

145 Diodorus Siculus 4.63; Pindar cited by Pausanias 1.18.5; Pausanias 1.41.5; Plutarch *Theseus* 31; Pseudo-Hyginus *Fabulae* 79; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Epitome* 1.24; Tzetzes *Lycophron* 743.

146 Herodotus 9.73. Plutarch *Theseus* 32.2-3 gives a slightly different story, having Academus delivering Helen to the Dioscures, and for these reason the Academy neighbourhood been spared during the war.

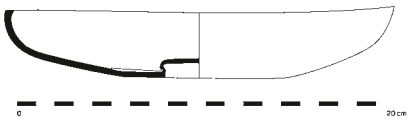
147 Davie 1982, pp. 29-31. In the Spartan colony of Tarentum, however, it is not surprising to see the same scene disguised into a more honorific version for their Dorian ancestors, as on the Apulian crater mentioned above, conf. note 143.

148 Walker 1995, pp. 14-15, Edmunds 2016, pp. 198-210. Herodotus 2.113-120; Thucydides 1.3 and 1.9 ; Boardman 1985, fig. 123

The kantharos, according to its figurative subject and rich ornamental style should be dated in the middle decade of the Peloponnesian War.

3.6 AMAZONOMACHY, POSSIBLY SET IN ATHENS, ON A SILVER PHIALE

37



Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection inv. 2233. Reportedly found in central Thrace. H. to rim 3.1 – 3.5 cm, rim diam. 20.5 cm, rim thickness 4.3 mm, omphalos diam. 4.4 cm, omphalos depth (measured from underside) 1.7 cm, diam. of the ornamental band around omphalos 9.65 cm, max. h. of figures 4.5 cm, wgt. 416 g.

The shape is a continuous curve with a slightly incurving rim (fig. 37). The omphalos and the vase seem to have been hammered in one piece, probably on a cast model, as it is indicated by the thickness of the rim. The figures are chiselled and leaf gilded. A large band of embossed gilt silver foil is soldered around the omphalos. One third of it is restored, as they are considerable parts of the body on the outside of the vase to strengthen the thinned walls. Consequently the actual weight

38

does not correspond to the original one, which most probably was equivalent to 100 drachmae.[149] The phiale, originally published by Marazov, is of the so-called Greek type, which has a continuous profile without carination, and is well known on both, metal and clay.[150] The proportion of the height to the rim diameter of the vase is little above 1:6, which makes it one of the shallowest types, most popular during the second half of the 5th century BC, but well attested before and after this period.[151]

The omphalos is leaf gilt and surrounded by an embossed foil with from centre to periphery: a rank of pearls; nine-petal palmettes alternating with five petal lotus flowers stemming from volutes; another rank of pearls; a strongly stylized wreath of ivy leaves running counter-clock wise; and a final rank of pearls. Next to the embossed band there is a gilt band with a pair of antithetically running false spirals, which serves for ground to the figures (FIG. 38).

The added ornamental band around the omphalos is a feature known already since the 7th century BC, when usually bore animal figures.[152] In the later 6th and in the 5th century the band is often directly chased on the silver surface and consists of various tongue and feather motifs.[153] During the later on the second half of the 5th century BC the omphalos

149 The actual weight is equivalent to the odd number of 97 drachmae. If the worn and missing parts weighted between 12 and 15 g, then an original weight of 100 drachmae would yield 'canonical' units of 4.28 to 4.31 g.

150 Marazov 2011, pp. 57-58, no 45. Luschey 1939, pp. 138-139, figs. 7-12.

151 Luschey 1939, pp. 38-40.

152 Bothmer 1984, no 12; Sideris 2008, pp. 342-343, fig. 3.

153 Özgen – Öztürk 1996, p. 95, cat. 43; Oliver 1977, p. 25, no 2; Sevinç - Treister 2003, p. 239-240, no 58(1), pl. 8, fig. 59; Treister 2010a, 94-97, fig. 19; Melikian Chirvani 1993, fig. 9 (bronze).

39

40

41

42

collar grows ornamental. One of the earliest exemplars with such decorative band is the phiale with the Apobatic race, found in the Bashova tumulus, of the Duvanli necropolis (FIG. 72), and having almost exactly the same dimensions as the one in the Bojkov Collection.[154] Two more phialae with elaborated ornamental bands of the same style are known: one from the Chmyreva tumulus in South Russia (with palmettes and lotus flowers, and confronted sphinxes friezes), and another in the art market (with palmettes and lotus flowers, and lesbian kymation friezes, FIG. 74).[155] But the closest parallel to our phiale is an exemplar on loan in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, on which the ornamental band could have been executed on the same matrix.[156] Another couple of phialae, also from the Chmyreva tumulus, have horned and winged female heads and busts on their friezes, and they may be Ionian creations.[157]

The figural scene on our phiale is an Amazonomachy. At least four Greek heroes fought the Amazons (Heracles, Bellerephon, Theseus, and Achilles) in their own land. But only Theseus confronted them also on the Attic soil. Their campaign

154 FILOW 1934, pp. 63-65, fig. 80, pl. 4; also herein section 5.2.1 no 12, p. 63.

155 TREISTER 2009a, pp. 421-423, 428-430, 446, fig. 3; See also herein section 5.2.1 nos 13, 21 on pp. 63, 69.

156 Herein section 5.2.2 no 3.

157 TREISTER 2009a, pp. 423-427, 431,447, figs. 4-5.

was, according to the sources, a revenge for the "abduction" of Antiope by Theseus, although she seems to have followed him voluntarily. The battle, which was ultimately won by the Greeks, took place around the Acropolis hill, and we are given a relatively detailed account, naming a certain Chalkodon as one of the leading Greeks who fell in the combat.[158] After the Persian Wars, however, Amazonomachy became a quasi omnipresent symbolic subject, meant to represent the Greek struggles against the Oriental barbarians.[159] The application of this subject on the circular field of a phialae is no doubt related to the influence of the chryselephantine *Athena Parthenos* on the Acropolis. On the shield of the goddess an Amazonomachy was depicted.[160] And although the extant marble copies do not show a radial disposition of the figures, at least some of the figures on our phiale are directly inspired by the Phidian model.

Four figures of Greek warriors and three of Amazons occupy the field above the ground band (FIG. 39). One of the Greeks lies seriously wounded against his shield and sword sheath, on the lap of his comrade. His blood flows from several wounds on the belly and the thigh (FIG. 40). This group comes directly from the *Parthenos* shield.[161] In front of them a third one, covering himself behind his shield, has just thrown his spear and found on the chest an approaching mounted Amazon. The spear is broken, but her anguished gaze and her fire horse betray an imminent end (FIG. 41). The fallen Greek and the one assisting him are naked and beardless. One wears a *pilos* helmet maintained by a strip under the chin, while the other a Chalcidian helmet with raised cheek-guards. They all have *telamones* across the chest, from which are suspended their sword sheaths. The wounded Amazon has on the head an *alopeke*, and wears a short tunic decorated with punched circles, trousers, and boots.

Behind the group of the wounded Greek a fourth one is on his guards against an approaching on foot Amazon (FIG. 42). The figure is an almost faithful transmission from the *Parthenos* shield, where is also placed next to the group of the wounded Greek.[162] He is clad with a short *chiton* with mid-arm long sleeves, over which wears his breast armour and a shorter skirt of leather lappets. His belt is decorated with a false meander motif. His armour comprises a Corinthian helmet and a large round shield. On his right hand holds a surprisingly short spear. He is bearded and barefoot. The Amazon against him wears a short *chiton* with a dense vertical fabric pattern, and high, fur clad boots. She has on the head a Chalcidian helmet, and holds a *pelte* (crescent-shaped shield) on the left and a sword on the right hand. A third Amazon comes to her assistance mounted on her galloping stallion. She wears the same short *chiton* and a billowing *chlamys*, but she is barefoot. On the right hand holds a long spear.

The execution is poorer than on the previews kantharoi and kylikes, but the scene is full of dynamism and dramatic tension, interpreting in a bold visual idiom the emotionally charged reality of the combat. Stylistically the figures are close to those on a few other silver vases, including a ram head rhyton in the Bojkov Collection, the Metropolitan Museum phiale mentioned above, and probably also a silver kantharos with a *gynaikeion* scene from Solokha in South Russia, and the goat protome rhyton with the death of Orpheus in the Bojkov Collection. They all present some noticeable differences from the main Athenian series, which led me to call this group of vases the "Athenian-colonial" group.[163] Our phiale should be dated in the last decade of the 5th century BC.

158 AESCHYLUS *Eumenides* 680-690; EURIPIDES *Ion* 59; DIODORUS SICULUS 4.28; PLUTARCH *Theseus* 26-27; PAUSANIAS 1.41.7; PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS *Epitome* 1.16; JUSTINUS 2.4.

159 Hence its presence not only on the metopes of the Parthenon, but also next to the Marathon battle painting in the Stoa Poikile, and on the Theseion: PAUSANIAS 1.15.2-3, 7.2.7. AGARD 1928, p. 88; GOUŠCHIN 1999, pp. 169-170.

160 BOARDMAN 1985, figs. 98, 107-110; ROLLEY 1999, pp. 61-63, figs. 50-53b; LAPATIN 2001, pp. 66-68; CULLEN DAVISON 2009 2009, pp. 94-117; ARRINGTON 2014, pp. 154-161, figs. 4.14-22; NEILS 2015 has announced a new reconstruction, but I have not seen any publication on the matter.

161 HARRISON 1966, pp. 114, 131, 132-133, pls. 36b, 38, 39a-d (nos 7-8), 40; HARRISON 1981; STROCKA 1984, pp. 192-194, figs. 4-5. On both reconstructions are the outer figures at four o'clock.

162 On the same as above; on both reconstructions is the inner figure at four o'clock. He holds however a sword instead of spear: HARRISON 1966, pl. 39d no6.

163 On this group see herein the subchapter 5.2.2, p. 71.

42

3.7 THESEUS AND SINIS ON A BRONZE TRAY

Sofia, National Historical Museum inv. 52190. Diam. 35.9 cm, h. 5.3 cm, handle l. 8 cm.

It was found in the Goliamata tumulus in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa near Elhovo, in Yambol province, and published by Daniela Agre.[164] The vase has a slightly convex bottom curving smoothly up to the wide horizontal rim. It is provided with a swinging handle of elliptical shape,[165] fixed under the rim by a nearly triangular plaque bearing a figural representation in relief, of which the right upper part is not preserved (FIG. 43).

Nevertheless the scene is quite clear: a young beardless naked man on the right advances against another naked man trying to defend himself. The young one is shown in three quarters for the body and profile for the head, but the details are not well visible. The weapon held in his right hand is hidden behind his head. It could be a sword, since his chest is crossed by a *telamon*, a leather band holding the sheath of a sword. On the base of iconographical parallels it could as well be a cudgel. The young man possibly grabbed his opponent by the hair, but this part is not preserved. On the left of the scene there is a tree with a long branch bending over the figures, whilst a rock frames them from the right side.

The episode is correctly identified by Agre as Theseus fighting the bandit Sinis, and rightly compared to analogous images on Attic vases.[166] The closest ones for the composition, the postures, or the style, however, are those by the Pistoxenos, the Penthesileia, and the Codrus painters, all ranging between 460 and 420 BC.[167] It is irrelevant for our discussion here if the toreut used an older matrix to hammer the plaque of the handle attachment, or if the vase itself is much older than the grave, in which it has been found.[168] The fact remains that the composition is a 5th century creation, probably of its third quarter. In addition to the Attic imagery parallels, the rarity of Theseus representations outside Athens, incite to ascribe the tray rather to an Athenian bronze workshop.

3.8 THESEUS AND THE MARATHON BULL ON A GOLD RHYTON

Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum inv. 3198. Found in Panagyurishte, in the Pazardzhik province. H. 13.5 cm, rim diam. 8.6 cm, wgt. 689 g.

The cast and chiselled vase has the form of a stag's head, with added long antlers, ears, and handle.[169] The down-turned rim bears a range of pearls and an ionic *kymation*. The zoomorphic handle (ramping lion on upper part) has somewhat distant in time, but very similar antecedents on Achaemenid

164 AGRE 2011, pp. 163-167, figs. V-32 and V-33.

165 Inaccurately described as *omega*-shaped (AGRE 2011, p. 163); the *omega* handles have always their two extremities free, as does the letter Ω.

166 *LIMC* VIII (1997), Theseus 62-83.

167 *LIMC* VIII (1997), Theseus 44-47.

168 The grave is dated "around the middle of the 4th century": AGRE 2011, p. 210. For a listing of metal vases older up to two centuries than the graves in which they have been found, see SIDERIS 2000, pp. 28-29.

169 CONČEV 1956, pp. 131-133, fig. 3, pl. 6; DÖRIG 1987, no 20; RABADJIEV 1997, pp. 71-72, fig. 1; MARTINEZ ET AL. 2015, p. 226, cat. 188 .

44

amphorae-rhyta and oinochoae.[170] On each side of the neck of the vase are represented, almost as mirror images, Theseus overcoming the Marathonian bull and Heracles capturing the Ceryneian hind respectively (FIG. 44). If there was not for the cudgel of the former, shown on the earth under the hind, one could hardly tell them apart. The young naked heroes, with only a *chlamys* billowing on their back, approach the animals from behind, but not in the usual iconographical type, which we have seen on the Theseus kylix.[171] The difference here is that both figures have one knee on the back of the animal to immobilize it (the left knee for Theseus, the right one for Heracles), and they grasp the horns or the antlers of the animals. This particular way of submitting the quadruped adversary is already observed on a metope of the Zeus temple on Olympia.[172] Later on, towards the end of the 5th century, it has been further elaborated in the figure of Nike/Artemis capturing a deer, on a masterfully executed bronze hydria with silver details.[173] Around 400 BC the type is adopted also for the centaurs represented on the Bassae frieze.[174] And much later than the images discussed here, the same stance was to become the standard iconography of the Mithraic cult. In the process of the iconographical blending and religious syncretism such Hellenistic works of art, as the gold rhyton from Panagyurishte, would have played a significant role. The rhyton is dated around 300 BC.

170 SCHMANDT-BESSERAT 1980, p. 77, no 93, fig. 3; *Pierre Bergé et associés. Archéologie*. Vente aux enchères, 26 Novembre 2013, Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, pp. 174-175, no 186; *Christie's New York, Antiquities,* 7 December 2000, sale 9540, lot 723 (once in the Norbert Schimmel Collection).

171 Here above section 3.2, p. 19.

172 BOARDMAN 1985, fig. 22.5; ROLLEY 1994, fig. 387.5

173 RICHTER 1937, figs. 1-2; ROLLEY 1999, p. 190, fig. 178.

174 BOARDMAN 1995, figs. 5.4 and 5.5; ROLLEY 1999, p. 173, fig. 157.

4.
HERACLES IN THRACE

Theseus was first and foremost an Athenian hero, and by ancestry an Ionic one. Although he is known ichnographically in a few cases from areas outside Athens (but mostly in the Athenian sphere of influence), never reached the Panhellenic status of the Doric Heracles. The Doric *poleis* of southern Greece, though, never showed any particular interest in Thrace(except Megara), and thus his images were first conveyed to the North primarily by the Attic pottery and other Athenian artefacts. Macedonia's ascendancy in the times of Philip II, who claimed descent of his royal house from Argos and ultimately from Heracles, replaced the Athenian influence, and may be in the origin of the proliferation of the hero's imagery during the second half of the 4th century BC. This idea, expressed initially for some of the Vergina finds, might be directly or indirectly also related to the relatively more extensive Heracles' representation in Thrace during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods.[175]

4.1 HERACLES ON VARIOUS GREEK AND THRACIAN ARTEFACTS

The most important Greek hero, and elder cousin of Theseus, occurs only once and on an ambiguous scene at that, on the imported Attic pottery in Thrace, namely on a late Archaic black figure oinochoe from Messambria.[176] He is shown accomplishing his ninth labour, the capture of the Cretan bull, later to become the Marathonian bull.[177] The figure has been traditionally interpreted as Heracles despite him missing his unmistakable attribute, the lion skin.[178]

Heracles appears more frequently on toreutic artefacts, dating mostly from the 4th century BC. He appears, already by the end of the 5th century BC or the beginning of the following one, on a bronze cheek-piece detached from a helmet and found in

45

46

Gurlo, a village in Pernik district. The beardless hero is represented with his club on the right hand, a bow on the extended left hand, from which hangs also the lion skin, and a quiver on his back, maintained by a diagonal strip over his chest.[179] He also appears naked and beardless fighting the Nemean lion on

175 Andronikos 1984, p. 150; Rolley 1987, p. 355.

176 Archaeological Museum of Nesebar, inv. 2113. Lazarov 2003, pp. 69-70, cat. 8 (500-480 BC); Reho 2005, pp. 34-35 with ill.

177 See above section 3.2, p. 19.

178 On the ambivalence of some scenes, see above subchapter 3.8, p. 46

179 Velkov 1930, p. 43-44; Venedikov - Gerassimov 1973, figs, 250, 285-286; Schilzt 1987, cat. 241.

47

48

two silver *phallerae* from the Dolna Koznitsa tumulus in Kyustendil area, and from the Mramor tumulus in the Panagyurishte district, respectively (FIGS. 45-46).[180] These, or other similar works, seem to have inspired local imitations, such as a silver frontpiece ornament for horse trapping, found also in the Mramor tumulus (FIG. 47), and even much later a silver *phallera* from the Stara Zagora region.[181]
Claude Bérard, in a playful and magisterial semantic analysis, has shown the rules governing the interchangeability of bearded and beardless hero images.[182] In the same youthful beardless way Heracles is shown again fighting the Amazon Hippolyte on a silver jug from the Rogozen treasure.[183] He also captures the favourite hind of Artemis, in tandem with Theseus capturing the Marathonian bull, on the neck of a gold stag head rhyton from Panagyurishte.[184] On the gold amphora-rhyton from the same treasure, however, a more conventional middle-aged bearded man is tentatively identified to Heracles, followed by Iolaos, in some kind of military action.[185] His figure, as an elder drunken man, almost verges on the grotesque on a silver plate from the Rogozen treasure, in a scene with Auge, the iconography of which has been sufficiently scrutinized (FIG. 48).[186]
The earliest sculptural images of Heracles in Thrace are four votive relief plaques, just beyond the period examined here, dated in the first half or middle of the 3rd century BC.[187]
A mask, possibly of Heracles wearing the skin of a lion head, probably coming from the handle attachment of a bronze patera, has been found in Varbitsa,

180 Ognenova 1952; Marazov 1998, pp. 107, 172, nos 20, 103.

181 Marazov 1998, pp. 172, 176, nos 102, 106; Paunov 2013, pp. 31-32, fig. 2.18. Usually dated in the first half of the 1st century BC. Not included in the Table 1.

182 Bérard 1983, esp, 114-117.

183 Fol et al. 1989, cat. 154; Bouzek - Ondřejova 1990, p. 88, fig. 2.2 ; Rabadjiev 1996.

184 See above section 3.8, p. 44

185 Ončev 1956, pp. 147-150, fig.16, pls. 16-20; Dörig 1987, pp. 21-25, no 21; Rabadjiev 1997, pp. 72-74; Martinez et al. 2015, p. 222, cat. 185. The time-established view, however, privileges the hypothesis about the "Seven against Thebes": Griffith 1974; Daumas 1978.

186 Fol et al. 1989, cat. 4; Shefton 1989.

187 Rabadjiev 1995.

49

50

near Preslav.[188] A similar mask occurs also on a well known Greek bronze oinochoe type with Heracles decorating its lower handle attachment, also said to be found in Thrace and with parallels from several other places in the Greek world and its neighbouring regions, both on oinochoae and situlae handle attachments (FIGS. 49, 51).[189] This Heracles mask with *leonte* on Greek oinochoae handles represents probably the source of inspiration for yet another silver gilt handle attachment, of a different jug form, more common in Thrace. This last exemplar, which seems to be the largest among all Thracian type oinochoae, is kept in the Bojkov Collection, in Sofia (FIGS. 50, 52). Its workmanship is excellent, and the style betrays a toreut well familiarized with the Greek models.[190] It should be dated in the last third

51

of the 4th century BC. The type of Heracles with the lion skin has been adopted as well for *phallerae*. Four of them, made of gold and decorated with enamel, have been discovered in the Kralevo tumulus, near

188 FILOW 1934, p. 173, fig. 186.3. Filow wrote "mask of bearded satyr (?)" but it looks like Heracles with the *leonte*. The handle of patera is also preserved. I have not seen the object.

189 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 148-149, no 110. For parallels on oinochoae: WEBER 1983, pp. 363-364. For Heracles masks on situlae and amphora: SIDERIS 2011, pp. 294-295, figs. 24-27.

190 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 138-139, no 102.

52

53

Targovishte, and they date from about 300 BC, or slightly later (FIG. 53).[191]

The same mask of Heracles with lion skin decorates also a bronze patera, said to be from Thrace, in the Bojkov Collection.[192] Lastly, the infant Heracles strangling the snakes is represented on the bottom of the gold amphora-rhyton from Panagyurishte.[193] This earliest of all Heracles' achievements occurs also on the gilt medallion of the following, previously unpublished, silver kantharos, said to be found also in Thrace.

191 GINEV 1983; MARAZOV 1998, p. 119, no 39; TONKOVA 2010, pp. 51-53, fig. 18.

192 Unpublished, see herein subchapter 4.3, p. 53.

193 See foreword p. 52, and nt. 207.

4.2 INFANT HERACLES WITH THE SNAKES ON A SILVER KANTHAROS

Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection inv. 2365. H. to rim 14.4 cm, h. to top of handles 19.9 cm, rim diam. 11.3 cm, rim thickness 2.8 mm, lower body diam. 7.5 cm, handle w. 1.7 cm, stem h. 6.2 cm, stem upper disk diam. 3.3 cm, stem base diam. 6.5 cm, base h. 6 mm, medallion diam. 4.3 cm, wgt. 282.4 g.

The body is probably raised (or raised from a cast sketch, since the bottom seems much thinner than the rim) and the handles and the stem are cast separately and soldered. Some details are chiselled, chased, or embossed, while partial leaf gilding is applied. The surface is grey-brown as a result of the restoration process, during which the vase has been exposed to ultra red radiation in pursuit of a doubtful aesthetic result.[194]

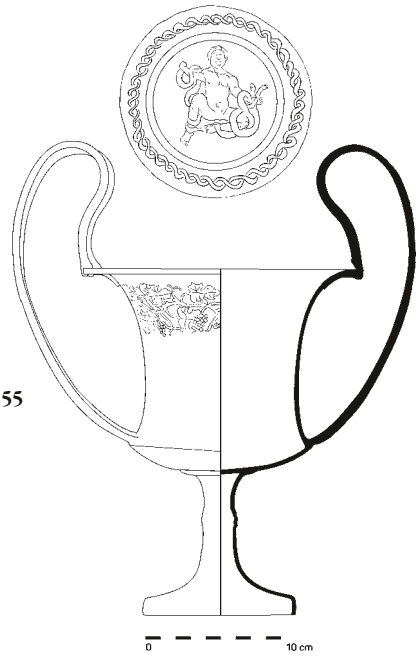
The shape is that of the classical stemmed kantharos. The concave walls of the cup flare to an everted rim, and the convex bottom is soldered on the hollow cylindrical high foot. The stem of the foot terminates in the upper part in a disk with a hanging moulding on its periphery, it has a chased ring on its middle, and widens towards its simple vertical profiled base. One central and two lateral sharp ridges run along the high looping band handles, soldered to the rim by triangular attachments with two small lateral projections. Under the rim there is an incised and gilded crown of detailed vine leaves, spirals and grapes. The vine branches spring up from under the handles and entangle in the middle of each free side of the vase. Inside the bottom is soldered an embossed gilded medallion showing a sited naked infant boy strangling two snakes. The figure is encircled by a simple tress and two plain rings in repoussé (FIG. 53).

The vase represents the latest evolution phase of the stemmed early classical kantharos type. Earlier exemplars in silver are known during the 5th century BC mostly from Thrace.[195] However, the bowl of

194 I have no reasons to question the authenticity of the kantharos what so ever, but I must note that I was denied access to photographs of the object before restoration.

195 See above, sections 3.3 and 3.5 pp. 20, 32.

54



55

the earlier exemplars is shorter, it has straight or only slightly concave walls, and the handles bear knobs and cross bars. Close parallels to our vase in pottery are to be found among the red figure and black glaze Boeotian kantharoi of the late 5th century BC (FIG. 56), which are supposed to be the inspiration of the 4th century Apulian series.[196]

One of the rare bronze exemplars has been found in Europos, Macedonia, and although it still has cross-bars on its handles, the proportions of the body are similar to those of our exemplar.[197] A silver exemplar from the tomb III of the Zelenski tumulus in the Taman peninsula lost its handles, but the 'trumpeting' passage of the stem to the circular base recalls our kantharos.[198] The closest parallel to the Bojkov Collection kantharos is, however, a silver vase found in Roscigno, in the Salerno region. It also still has cross-bars and the upper handle attachments decorated with four silenus masks, yet not only has the same proportions as our kantharos, but

56

moreover it bears an embossed figurative, entirely gilt medallion in its interior depicting an Amazon, named Andromacha by an inscription. It dates from ca. 410 BC and it is though to be the creation of a Greek south Italian workshop, possibly Tarentine.[199] Another silver cup from Chmyreva tumulus in South Russia, dating ca. 400 BC and now lost, but

196 LULLIES 1940, p. 16-18, pl . 21, Athens NAM inv. 1098, 1372-1374, 12259, 12487 (dated 420-400 BC); HEIMBERG 1982, pp. 5, 127, pl. 2, nos 19-20 (dated 375-350 BC); KILINSKI 2005. For their Apulian counterparts: COLVICCHI 2014, pp. 230-231, nts. 117-120.

197 SAVOPOULOU 1998, p. 399, 404, fig. 13.

198 PHARMAKOWSKI 1913, p. 187, fig. 15; MAKSIMOVA 1979, pp. 72-73, 75, fig. 23, A 3; TREISTER 2003, pp. 52-54, fig. 2.

199 HOLLOWAY – NABERS 1980, pp. 64-79, figs. 1-5 (Ἀνδρομάχα); HOLLOWAY – NABERS 1982, pp. 101-111, figs. 5-8; CIPRIANI - LONGO 1996, pp. 96-97, no 39.22.

57

of different shape, had a gilt medallion representing a Nereid riding a see monster.[200] Finally a silver kylix from the Solokha tumulus in Southern Russia bears in its centre a gilt medallion in the form of a chariot wheel and dates from around 400 BC (FIG. 88).[201] This was a specifically Attic motif executed in red figure technique on the medallions of some "fruit-stands", exported almost exclusively to Spina, in the northern Adriatic coast.[202]

The medallion of the Bojkov Collection kantharos depicts the infant Heracles strangling the snakes sent by Hera to kill him (FIGS. 55, 57). The scene is a well known episode from the Greek mythology, narrated by many ancient authors, and illustrating the endless jealousy and revenge of Hera against the results of countless Zeus' infidelities. It also illustrates the extraordinary strength of the hero, fated to become a demigod, already manifested since his infancy.[203] The inspiration for the scene seems to stem from the numismatic art, in which the figure of *Heraklis-kos drakonopnigon* (literally, "young Heracles the snake-strangler") was quite popular in the second half of the 5th and the early 4th century BC. The theme has been introduced -where else?- in the Heracles home city of Thebes, soon after 446 BC, to celebrate its liberation from the Athenian dominance, then slightly modified on a second series from 425 to 395 BC.[204] Between 405/4 and 394 BC it appears on mints of various Asia Minor cities and it is interpreted as *symmachicon* coinage of an anti-Athenian alliance, celebrating as *Herakliskos drakonopnigon* the Spartan admiral Lysander, the victor of Aegospotami and architect of the final Spartan victory over Athens during the Peloponne-

200 PHARMAKOWSKI 1910, cols. 219-220; GILL 1986, p. 11, fig. 5-6.

201 ONAIKO 1970, p. 100, no 399, pl. 16; MANTSEVICH 1987, p. 34-35, no 7; ALEXEYEV 2012, pp. 126-127, with ill.

202 AURIGEMMA 1956, pl. 14-15, 35a, 48a, 68, 77, 97b, 121 (Spina); ROUILLARD 1991, pl. 7, no 7 (from Spain).

203 PSEUDO-APOLLODORUS *Bibliotheca* 2.4, 2.8; THEOCRITUS *Idylls* 24; PINDAR *Nemean* I. 35-60; VIRGIL *Aeneid* 8.288..

204 *BMC Central Greece,* p. 72, nos 38-39 and p. 79, no 103; *BCD Boeotia*, nos 425 and 459. See also the Heracles with snakes on the pediment of a Theban decree stele: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 1987.297.

58

sian War.[205] The symbolism of Heracles, as par excellence Doric hero closely connected to Peloponnesus, is more than obvious.

The closest parallel to our medallion, however, occurs on a silver *stater* of Croton, introduced ca. 404 BC and still in use with slight variations until after the middle of the 4th century BC.[206] A variation of the composition, in which the infant Heracles is kneeling, and which adorned electrum *staters* of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, was probably the inspiration source for another toreutic masterpiece, the famous gold amphora-rhyton from Panagyurishte (FIG. 59).[207] To the same principle, that is the use of coins as models for silver cups' medallions, alludes also a silver phiale from the Mogilanksa tumulus in Vratsa, NW Bulgaria, which bears a female head in profile on its gilt medallion, and it dates from around the middle of the 4th century BC.[208] Later on, exact Syracusan coin casts occur as medallions on the so-called "Arethusa cups" of Calenian pottery.[209]

Three isolated silver medallions from lost cups are known. Two of them -with Bellerephon killing an Amazon, and Perseus about to decapitate Gorgo respectively- are also encircled by a tress or guilloche, and are said to be found in South Italy.[210] The third one depicts the birth of Aphrodite assisted by Eros and is said to be found in Galaxidi, central Greece (FIG. 58).[211] The vine crown incised under the rim of our kantharos is much less frequent as ornament, both on metal and clay vases, than the ivy crown. It appears in applied silver on two bronze craters of the 4th century BC,[212] and chiselled and gilded on a calyx, an oinochoe, and an aryballoid bottle, all made of silver and belonging to the early Hellenistic period.[213]

Taking into consideration the abovementioned similarities in shape and decoration of our vase mostly with artefacts from South Italy, as well as the use on it of a subject inspired from Theban and anti-Athenian alliance coinage, it seems legitimate to exclude Athens from the possible places of its origin. The Bojkov Collection kantharos should be rather attributed to a workshop of Magna Graecia, possibly in Tarentum, and dated in the initial decade of the 4th century BC.

59

205 XENOPHON *Hellenica* 2.1.22-30, 2.2.7-9, 23; PLUTARCH *Life of Lysander* 9-10, 14-15; KARWIESE 1980, pp. 22-26; BOMMELAER 1981, pp. 103-116; FIGUEIRA 1998, pp. 474-475.

206 *BMC Italy,* p. 354, nos 96-97; *ANSSNG*.3.384-388; HURTER – MILDENBER 1985, no 513. A similar Theban electrum hemidrachm is now thought to be later, ca. 360 BC: GARTLAND 2013.

207 YOUROUKOVA 1997, pp. 61-62, figs. 1, 5. See also the Theban electrum *BMC Central Greece,* p. 77, no 89.

208 STOYANOV 2003, p. 87, fig. I.1-2; TORBOV 2005, p. 101, cat. 67, pls. 10.2, 22.2; MARTINEZ ET AL. 2015, p. 284, cat. ; 224 ; POPOVA 2015.

209 THOMPSON 1939, p. 315; ZADOKS-JOSEPHUS JITTA 1986; BOARDMAN 1987, p. 285, fig. 1.

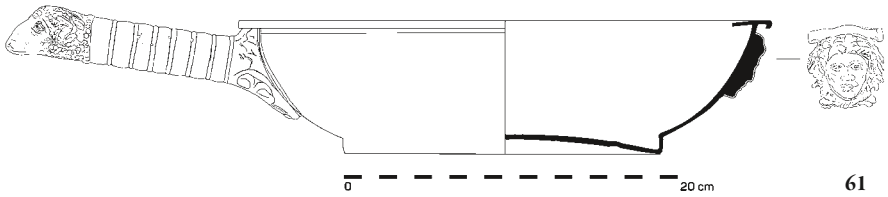
210 SWAN HALL 1987, p. 299, no 177 a-b. (dated there generally in the 5th century BC, but rather towards its end).

211 SIMON 1959, p. 43, fig. 26 (dated end of 5th or beginning of 4th century BC).

212 THEMELIS – TOURATSOGLOU 1998, pp. 70-72, 179, pls. 14-15 (320-310 BC); BARR-SHARRAR 2008, fig. 90, pls. 1-10, 18 a-b (ca. 380 BC); KOUTSOUMPOU 2008, pp. 208-209 (ca. 340 BC).

213 STRONG 1966, p. 101, fig. 23, pl. 25 B (calyx from Ithaca, ca. 300 BC); TROFIMOVA 2007, pp. 171-172, no 75 (oinochoe from Panticapeum, early 3rd century BC); FIALKO 2006, fig 5.4 (aryballoide bottle, 325-300 BC). But see also one of the earliest apparitions: BOARDMAN 1989, fig. 337.2 (Meleager painter cup, 400-380 BC).

60



61

4.3 HERACLES MASK ON A BRONZE PATERA

Sofia, Vassil Bojkov Collection, inv. 1533 The vase is unpublished and said to be found in Thrace. H. to rim 7.4 – 7.7 cm, rim max. outer diam. 29.5 cm, rim max. inner diam. 25.5 cm, base h. 1.2 cm, horizontal handle l. 16.7 cm, horizontal handle diam. 2.5 cm, rim thickness 3 mm, rim w. 2 cm, Heracles mask dimensions 5.3 x 4.9 cm, total l. with handle 41.5 cm.

The patera was finished by hammering out of a cast sketch. Centring dots and concentric circles produced on a lathe appear both inside and outside the bottom (six pairs outside, four inside plus a single one). The handles are cast with some chiselled details, and fixed to the body by soldering and riveting. The surface is covered by a green patina with several larger reddish brown, and some smaller black-brown spots (FIG. 60).

The vase belongs to a well known type, usually called *patera*, known on pottery and metal ware from the Archaic period onwards.[214] The low and straight profile base is hammered in one piece with the body, the continuous curve of which terminates in a relatively wide horizontal lip with down-turned rim on its outer periphery. The horizontal handle is cylindrical, with an ovoid attachment plaque and a ram head finial (FIG. 63). The plaque is decorated with a seven petal palmette emerging from volutes, and fixed to the wall of the vase with three rivets (FIG. 64). Along the handle tube there are seven equally spaced chiselled rings, of which the last one, closer to the head finial, consists of a range of pearls. The hair of the ram head is depicted by

214 ROMIOPOULOU 1989, p. 205 proposed to call it *patella*, but this should be rather the one with omphalos, as an exemplar from Torre Annunziata in the British Museum, inv. 1856,1226.700.

62

small punched circles (FIG. 61).
On the opposite side of the vase a mask of Heracles is soldered, with a hemicylindrical, slightly carving element above his head, ending on double mouldings (FIG. 62). The holes on the sides of this element correspond to the points of attachment of a now lost ring handle. Heracles is shown wearing the lion-head skin tied under his chin, with the type of knot designated precisely as "Heraclean". The face is almost triangular with small eyes and lips, while the animal's mane is depicted only rudimentarily. The overall impression, of the somewhat faded characteristics, may indicate a long-used or multiple times copied matrix.

The 6th and 5th century types of paterae, with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or simple band handles, were enriched with a new type with tubular handle, introduced sometime during the late 5th or the early 4th century BC.[215] Most often, such tubular handles bear a varying number of rings, and terminate almost uniformly with a ram head. There are known also handles with longitudinal flutes from Dablagomi in Georgia, Vergina in Macedonia, and from the tumulus

215 Anthropomorphic: GJØDESEN 1944; JANTZEN 1958.

63

64

of Goliamata Kosmatka in Thrace.[216] Another type, from Derveni, has a handle imitating an acanthus sprout.[217] Further exemplars from Thrace are known from Polianovo and Resilovo.[218] The closest parallels to our exemplar come from Varbitsa, Arzos, and Ganos in Thrace,[219] and from Pydna and Vergina, in Macedonia.[220] The last one, the only silver exemplar, shares with our vase not only the plasticity of the handle rings and the punched circles on the ram's head finial, but also the curving hemicylindrical element with mouldings, on which the ring handle is attached. Under the ring handle it has a separately worked mask of a young satyr.[221] Besides, satyr and young beardless Pan masks decorate all other known exemplars, with the sole exception of a patera in the art market, on which the attachment plaque represents Scylla.[222] The Heracles head with *leonte* is unknown from other paterae; however, it was quite popular on oinochoae and stamnoid situlae of the second half of the 4th century BC.[223]
The origin and use of such vases have been extensively discussed by Hans Ulrich Nuber, especially for the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[224] He also established a connection with the epichysis type oinochoae (spouted mouth), and believed they were used mainly for hand washing in the context of sacrifice and symposium. He is followed and further enriched on these observations by Anareta Touloumtzidou.[225] The iconographic evidence justifies calling them, at least in Greek context, *cherniva*, the name given for presumably similar vases by Athenaeus.[226]
Some types of the metal exemplars must have been used for cooking too (now, if this was frying, for which are used modern similar pans, that's another question, necessitating further investigation of the sources), but I don't think that those with an integral base were fitted for this purpose.
Some of the masks under the ring handle show an exceptionally high quality of design and execution, and they may be ascribed to Athenian toreutic workshops of the later 4th century BC.[227] Some others seem more experimental or conventional, and they may belong to the Macedonian or/and Propontis toreutic production. Our exemplar, given its similarities with the Vergina silver patera, should be associated rather to the former one and dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC.

216 Lordkipanidze 1974, p. 936, fig. 28; Kottaridi 2013, p. 214; Dimitrova 2015, pp. 289-293, cat. 43, figs. 228-230. See also the plain tube handle of another exemplar from Vergina: Kottaridi 2013, p. 344.

217 Themelis – Touratsoglou 1997, pp. 32 72, nos A8, B36, pls. 33, 76.

218 Velkov 1926, p. 151; Dimitrova - Tonkova 1992, pp. 135-136, fig. 6.

219 Filow 1934, p. 178, no 10, fig. 196; Triantafyllos 1975, p. 302, no 4, pl. 205d; Delemen 2004, pp. 77-78, fig. 72.

220 Andronikos 1984, pp. 212-213, fig. 181-182; Bessios 2010, ill. on p. 217; Descamps-Lequime - Charatzopoulou 2011, cat. 257/2. There is also one reported from Nea Michaniona, Thessaloniki Museum inv. 7547: Romiopoulou 1989, p. 206, nt. 43.

221 For a picture of the satyr mask, see Kottaridi 2013, pp. 324-325.

222 *Sotheby's London, 13 May 2003*, sale 9599, lot 238, possibly dating from the late 5th or the early 4th century BC.

223 See above nt. 189.

224 Nuber 1972.

225 Touloumtzidou 2011, pp. 613-616.

226 Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 9.75-78.

227 See in particular the satyr mask on the exemplar in the art market: *Gorny & Mosch 17 December 2014*, sale 227, lot 45, and its resemblance to a situla handle attachment, once in the Bastis Collection: Sideris 2011, fig. 18.

5.
ATHENIAN SILVER WARE OF THE 5TH CENTURY BC

A quarter of a century ago the discussion about Athenian silver ware was still heated and oscillating between pendulum positions: from almost completely denying that any Athenian silver ware production ever existed in the 5th century BC, to provocatively affirming that not only it existed, but it was nearly slavishly driving the fashion, technique, style and design of the whole Attic pottery output. Summing it up today, I would admit that it was in many aspects the result of a controversy between mainly two Oxonian scholars, with some allies and adversaries on each side, but without many competitors. Several of the arguments used during this controversy seem today obsolete in the light of new evidence, and of advanced studies in various socio-political aspects of the Greek and neighbouring cultures. Other arguments retained and even increased their strength during time. In the following sections I will try to dress a brief balance of the issue, reassess the evidence, address some of the still unresolved problems, and suggest a relatively new scheme, based on the data today available, and of course subject to future modifications.

5.1 METAL WARE AND POTTERY: THE OXONIAN CONTROVERSY

The first issue coming in mind, when speaking about metal ware and pottery connections, is the resemblance of shapes. It has been long admitted, more tacitly than explicitly, that toreutic creations have influenced many of the shapes manufactured in clay. The first scholar, to my knowledge, to assert the opposite, that metal ware was inspired by pottery, was Dorothy Kent Hill, in connection to some metal kantharoi kept in the Walters Art Museum, in Baltimore.[228] The idea was unquestioned adopted by other American scholars, like Brian Sparkes, Lucy Talcott and Andrew Oliver.[229]

Nevertheless, Hill's position was based on three assumptions. The first one postulates that the crossbars on metal kantharoi are superfluous, and thus are proof of imitating pottery, where they were used to prevent the fragility of the high handles. The second assumption maintains that the loss of masks from some kantharoi handle attachments shows that they were not integral parts of the vase, and thus borrowed from pottery design. The third assumption stresses that they were occasional, and thus, again, could not represent the original design. From all three only the first one can partly contain some truth, yet silver is not a hard metal and some strengthening was rather necessary to preserve the gracious curve of the wide and high handles of kantharoi. The masks were added elements both on metal and clay. Moreover, the high number of silver and bronze vases known today with added masks on the handle attachments, compared to the relative rarity of them in pottery, already proves the opposite. For comparison there is only one Attic clay kantharos with added masks in the usual position, and a second one with silenus masks instead of knobs.[230] The Apulian kantharoi series, on which masks became regular, postdates the silver exemplars.[231] As for the small number of metal kantharoi, it is an *argumentum ex silentio*, already rendered obsolete by the list in the following chapter. And this, without bringing into consideration the far smaller number of metal vases preserved to our days, in proportion to the pottery ones.

In the recent years most scholars take for granted the primacy of toreutic shapes in general over those of pottery, and they don't even feel necessary to

228 Hill 1947, p. 253.

229 Sparkes - Talcott 1970, p. 114; Oliver 1977, p. 29.

230 Olmos *sine datum*., p. 63, no 16 (inv. 225); Crome 1938, col. 68-77.

231 Colvicchi 2014, pp. 230-231, nts. 117-120.

discuss anymore something considered as a matter of fact.[232] Much of this change of attitude however is due to the work of Michael Vickers, who in a series of papers, and in a book with David Gill, in the late 1980s and early 1990s collected the evidence and presented in a comprehensive way the arguments.[233] Vickers however, who continued to produce compelling evidence for the skeuomophism of pottery to an already convinced academic audience, didn't stop on the shape and design resemblance.[234] He elaborated a complex theory with several brand-new positions, affecting various domains of the Greek art, and putting in question its history and perception from the Renaissance to the later 20th century. It would be a book-long account to discuss all of them in detail. But let's say in a nutshell, that he postulated the existence of some, thinly attested, silver-figure technique on bronze (or on gold) vases, which would have inspired the Attic black figure pottery.[235] Then an equally hypothetical passage, from silver-on-bronze to gold-on-silver figure, would have provoked the invention of the painters' red figure. Both assumptions were based on the idea that silver would be (or would have been considered as being) black, while gold would have been perceived as red.[236] Naturally, such positions raised immediately the disparagement, and some times the contempt, of many ceramologists, John Boardman in head, followed by Robert Cook, Alan Johnston and Martin Robertson.[237]

Let's have a quick look on the concerned evidence. Proper silver figures on bronze (or gold) vases are not known to this day. There are, however, two figures of riders from Olympia and Trebenischte cut out of silver sheet, ranging still within the period of the Attic black figure, which were applied on helmet's cheek-guards.[238] Silver details enhance also the *kymatia* and palmette details, on some hydriae and situlae, mostly of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.[239] I could add also an inlaid silver star on the interior of a bronze bowl from Mezek, in Thrace.[240] But what all of them show, is that silver-on-bronze was a rather exceptional and experimental procedure. Not the well-established practice, which one might expect influencing pottery. Moreover, the use of silver for decorative details in all known cases postdates the painted black figure.

Tinning and silvering of bronze surfaces was a procedure known to the toreuts makiing mirrors.[241] And it is at least strange, that, while bringing Calenian pottery and Roman chariots in the discussion,[242] none mentioned the numerous bronze mirrors with chiselled figures, many of which are tinned and dated in the late 4th and early 3rd century BC. Maybe because mirrors could not have been left go black (tin does not tarnish). Maybe also, because most of them are Corinthian, and the issue was Athens. Beside some figural scenes chiselled on entirely tinned surface, there are also a few, which are contour-tinned, in the same manner as the 5th century figures on silver vases (FIG. 65).[243] Of course, nothing changes the fact that they are too late and too bright to have any bearing on the "dependence theory" discussion. But this revival of the chiselled figure on metal, even though a surrogate one, in a period during which the relief figure almost monopolized the toreutic techniques, is a phenomenon meriting more attention. Gold-on-silver figurative style is by now much better

232 Miller 1993; Drougou - Touratsoglou 1997; Archibald 1998, p. 178, nt. 7; Ignatiadou 2014.

233 The bibliography of Vickers and Gill is extensive. Here only a choice: Vickers 1983; Vickers 1985; Vickers 1986; Gill 1986; Gill - Vickers 1989; Vickers - Gill 1994.

234 Vickers 1998; Vickers 2010; Vickers forthcoming.

235 Vickers - Gill 1990; Vickers 2004;

236 The general ideas are comprised in Vickers 1985, Vickers - Gill 1994 and Vickers 1995.

237 Robertson 1985; Cancianni 1986; Boardman 1987; Boardman 1988, p. 610; Cook 1987, p. 128, nt. 20; Johnston 1987; Amandry 1988; Robertson 1992, pp. 3-6; Rolley 1995; Rotroff 1995.

238 Vulić 1930, pp. 285-286, fig. 11; Kunze 1958, figs. 107-108, pl. 57.2. Some more figures of inlaid silver from a chariot were brought in the discussion by Vickers: Seure 1904, pp. 222-226, figs. 21-29, pl. 11. They are simply irrelevant. The chariot dates from the Roman period, and we know several other examples of Roman bronzes inlaid with silver, copper and enamel, in an entirely different technique, sometimes called "*Corinthium aes*": Cradock - Giumlia-Mair 1995.

239 For example: Sowder 2009, cat. 8.1, 16.8-9, and 20.1, 41, 46, 48, 51, 54-55, 60.

240 Filow 1937, p. 60, no 24, fig. 65. The vase, very damaged, was possibly the bowl of a patera.

241 Schwarzmeier 1997, pp. 15, 228.

242 Vickers 1985, p. 110; Boardman 1987, p. 284.

243 Schwarzmeier 1997, pp. 125-127, cat. 65, pls. 60.1, 78.1.

65

understood. The 22 figured Athenian exemplars, plus seven that I qualify as 'Athenian-colonial', and the total of 75 Greek silver vases, listed or mentioned in the following chapter, provide ample documentation for the best part of the 5th century (480-400 BC). There is also evidence that the same decorative technique, both for figures and floral motifs, was in use by the Eastern Greeks already from the late 7th century BC, and until the end of the gold-figure on silver vases, situated around 400 BC.[244] By the way, this end of the graphic gold-figure, supplanted by an innovative relief gold figure technique, seems to have happened some 70 years before the end of the painted red figure itself. Thus, no direct dependence of one on the other can be deduced.

The pottery surface treatment, in various ways in order to look metallic, is another of Vickers' "dependence theory" pilasters. He rightly thinks that many fabrics intentionally tried to look like metal.[245] The evidence he produces is abundant and it was never seriously doubted by anyone. Furthermore, we know now numerous tin coated and gilt clay exemplars, mostly of Hellenistic date.[246] There are also a few regular bronze shapes, which appear in tin plated variations (situla, stemmed kantharos, strainer).[247]

Now, concerning silver's colour, there is a noticeable divergence between the literary sources and the linguistic usage in ancient Greece on the one hand, both of which support a shining or white colour for silver, and on the other hand the common knowledge and practice (followed everywhere until anti-tarnish coatings were invented in the past century), which consists in leaving the silver go black. Its natural black tarnish, often shiny, can easily be removed, but removing it regularly would reduce its weight and consequently its value.[248] The ancient texts, sometimes over-interpreted by Vickers in order to make them serve his conviction, see almost unanimously the silver as white, and words like ἀργυρόπεζα, ἀργυροειδὴς and ἀργύφεος (meaning "with silver-colored feet", "with silver-colored face" and "bright as silver") leave no space for speculation.[249] Linguistics, though, is one thing and economic behaviour another. Everybody knew, for sure, that silver can be shiny white; hence its use for the teeth of some large scale bronze statues.[250] But this does not mean that anyone would have accepted decreasing his wealth just for aesthetic reasons. On the one hand exceptions may have existed, but as a rule, Vickers is right despite the texts: silver plate would have been left most often unpolished. On the other hand, inferring from silver's colour the dependence of the painted red figure on the toreutic gold figure, represents the crucial but still unproven argument, upon which some other of his theories have been founded.

One of them sees all potters' and painters' signatures on Attic vases as mere reflection of the original toreut signatures, over-interpreting and extrapolating from a known case of collaboration between the famous painter (of large scale paintings) Parrhasios and the toreut

244 Chiselled figurative scenes appear at least on two bronze plates of the later 7th century BC (Hiller 1963; Shefton 1989), on a kotyle, two alabastra, and an aryballos (Bothmer 1984, cat. 49; Özgen - Öztürk 1996, cat. 78, 228; Treister 2007, fig. 1), all of silver, dating in the 6th century BC, and on a ladle from the 5th century BC (Sideris 2008, fig. 15).

245 Vickers 1985, pp. 90-94; Vickers 1995.

246 Kotitsa 2012.

247 Kottaridi 2013, pp. 345-346.

248 Pliny *Natural History* 43.131 rather than referring to a conscious protection of the surface, probably alludes to the antiquarian taste of the Romans.

249 Euripide *Ion* 95; Sappho *Epithalamia* 19 (Bidez - Cumont no 194 , Lobel-Page 34); Homer *Iliad* 18.506, 23.621, *Odyssey* 5.230, 10.85, 10.543; Athenaeus 11.478 a-b "σπείσας ἐκ κόνδυος ἀργυφέοιο νέκταρ", "he made a libation of nectar from a kondy bright as silver".

250 Vickers 1985, p. 111; Boardman 1987, p. 286.

Mys, also famous according to Pliny.[251] From there, it is only a short step to jump to another conclusion, much irritating for the ceramologists. Vickers, based on the really enormous difference of value between a clay vase and one of precious metal, deduced an analogous diversity of social status for their creators. There is certainly some truth in this observation, no need to look on the status of potters and silversmiths in various societies through history to be convinced. But he, again, went too far, implying that their almost "marginal" status would never comport with the internal jocks, the competition, the sexual allusions, and the professional pride, all of which are documented epigraphically on the Attic pottery.[252] To be franc, the toreuts themselves are much less inclined to sign their creations than the Attic potters. We know by now several thousands of bronze, silver and gold vases from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, and the signatures of toreuts -including the tentative ones- count less than a dozen.
The reaction from the "offended" students of pottery was often a total rejection of Vickers significant contributions. They rightly dismissed the "total dependence" theory because, among other reasons, of the existence of the so-called *pentimenti*, the preliminary sketches incised on clay vases, which were frequently modified in the final result, and which would not make sense in a scheme of slavish copies.[253] But they also went far enough, as to deny the existence of gilt silver ware in the 5th century BC.[254]
From the distance of time and the privilege of new available documents one could easily dismiss the Oxonian controversy as an internal affair. It was, however, more than that. The controversy only starts to be slowly digested by the academic community.[255] Thanks to Vickers and Gill toreutics have been extracted from their quasi-oblivion and given again an important place among the Greek arts. And thanks to Boardman this place was found not in detriment of ceramics, and without succumbing to oversimplifying hierarchies.[256] There certainly will be more data in the future, nuancing further our understanding of the complex metal ware – pottery relations, but the merit of laying down their general outline belongs to them.
A related issue, to which Vickers and Gill dedicated more papers, refers to the weight standards on which plate was produced, and to the relevance of ponderal inscriptions on it.[257] The idea, that silver and gold vases were made in equivalence to, if not directly from coins, and used occasionally as exchange medium was based on actual ponderal inscriptions, and it is now more or less generally accepted as is general the consensus that precious metal items were not produced for the market at least until the Hellenistic period.[258] The concept *per se* is again correct. Its practical implementation, however, impinges on our imperfect knowledge of the weight standards of each particular region and period of time, their frequent fluctuation (or devaluation for the coins), and on the pure assumption that most vases would have been made equivalent to a round figure of weight units.[259] The charm of the latter is, nonetheless, undeniable. I often caught myself calculating and recalculating the weight of a particular vase, in the hope of obtaining a round figure in any possible standard. The figures, though, were not always supportive.

251 Athenaeus 11.782b; Pliny *Natural History* 33.55.154-156. Vickers 1985, pp. 126-127.

252 Robertson 1992, pp. 3-6.

253 Robertson 1992, p. 5; Marangou 1995, nos 22, 26.

254 Boardman 1987, p. 287: "There are no silver vases with gilt figures until at least the end of the fifth century, but several in the forth..."; Williams 1991, p. 106: "... although there clearly were gold-figured silver vases, none of the preserved examples is earlier than the late 5th century and even these are perhaps best understood as imitations of ceramic vases."

255 It is noteworthy that there is not a single scholarly paper dedicated to it (to my knowledge) by anyone outside the initial participants. The utmost academic level concerned about it seems to be a MA thesis by Manon Degenkamp (2012).

256 As an immediate side effect one may count some Phd theses, bearing on purely toreutic, or metal ware and pottery subjects, defended during the 1990s in France, the United Kingdom, and Germany: Sideris 1995 (Université de Bourgogne); Zymi 1997 (Oxford University); Zimmermann 1997 (Universität Marburg).

257 Gill 1988; Vickers 1990; Vickers 1991; Vickers 1995; Gill 2008.

258 Archibald 1998, p. 195; Cahn 1960; Le Ridder - Callataÿ 2006, pp. 176-183; Callataÿ 2006.

259 Neither the few preserved temple inventories, nor the actual ponderal inscriptions on silver and gold vases confirm this assumption, or when they do, it is at the expense of an extensive manipulation of the standards: Lewis 1986; Harris 1995; Vickers 1992; Vickers 1995a; Sideris 2000, pp. 21-23, fig. 27; Gill 2008, tab. 1; Rufin Solas 2013, pp. 35-36. Lorber 2008 needs no less than seventeen different standards for the Thraco-Macedonian domain alone. See here above nt. 149.

5.2 THE CORPUS OF THE ATHENIAN SILVER WARE

The 45 Athenian or Athenian-related silver vases catalogued in this section (plus the 30 more Greek vases mentioned in the following one), dating all from 480 to 400/390 BC, with only five liminal cases possibly from the first decade of the 4th century, and of which more than a half bear figural decoration, give an entirely different image of what was usually called "lack of evidence" for the early Classical Greek silver ware. The vases in the list 5.2.1 have all leaf-gilt figures, except for the first and last ones, in which the figures are executed in applied gold foil. They constitute the tangible proof that gold figured vases not only existed in 5th century Athens, but they also counted among them some of the most inspired and finely accomplished works of the high Classical Greek art.

Those in the list 5.2.2 continue as well in the same general style, but they all present some, more or less, important shift from the Athenian models. In some cases their shape, in support of the Athenian inspiration, is in full contrast with the execution or the style of some parts (plemochoe and St. Valentine kantharos). In other cases, despite the Athenian-related imagery and style, the shape is alien to the Attic pottery production, indicating thus, a rather oriental -direct or mediated- influence (ram head and goat prototome rhyta).

The list in 5.2.3 comprises uniquely vases, the shapes of which are recognizably Attic, and which have not been imitated elsewhere in pottery, at least not before the reference period of their silver counterparts. In some sense it remains a tentative list, since the shape is almost the exclusive reason for ascribing these vases in the Athenian toreutic output. But since most of the shapes are exclusive to the Athenian Kerameikos, many have been found together with other Attic artefacts, and until the emergence of some better founded suggestion, I consider it the most plausible attribution.

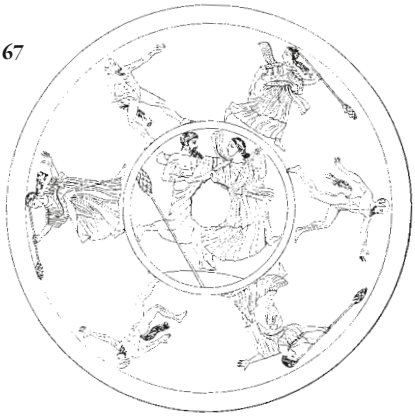
5.2.1 Athenian silver vases with gilt figural scenes in the 5th century BC

1) Nike kylix, Semibratni tumulus IV, 470-460 BC.

66

High stemmed kylix with "ΠΤ" shaped handles (fig. 66). In the medallion a chiseled and gilt figure of Nike is seated on a stool with carved legs, and is making a libation from a phiale. Part of the gold foil is lost, revealing that the incised figure was completed before the foil application. Both the shape and the tondo (especially Nike's dotted spread wings, hairdo, and *chiton*) have obvious analogies on Attic pottery.[260]

2) Dionysos and Ariadne kylix, Semibratnie tumulus Malovo 460-450 BC



67

High stemmed kylix, foot not restored, handles

260 Gorbunova 1971, p. 20, fig. 1, 5; Trofimova 2007, p. 219, no 119.

missing (FIG. 67). The medallion –damaged in the centre- shows Dionysus pursuing Ariadne. Dionysus head is reminiscent of the *Artemision Zeus*. On the field around the medallion six figures of alternating satyrs and maenads with *nebrids* and *thyrsi*, all in rapid movement, are radially disposed. Theme, style, and composition are well known from Athenian vases (esp. cup by Euaion painter).[261]

3) Bellerephon and Chimera kylix, Semibratnie tumulus II, 460-450 BC

68

Kylix presumably stemmed, foot not preserved, "Π" shaped handles not restored (FIG. 68). The medallion represents Bellerephon naked, with *petasos* and spear, mounted on Pegasus galloping above Chimera. On the surrounding field six Greek warriors, variously clad and armed, march counter-clockwise. Pegasus forelock resembles a small scale bronze form Olympia, while musculature lines of figures recall the work of Penthesileia painter. Pegasus is a recurrent theme of proud for the victory over the Persians.[262]

4) Dionysos and thiasos kantharos, Duvanli tumulus Goliamata, 445-440 BC

High stemmed kantharos, looping handles, cross-bars not restored, knobs missing (FIG. 69). Miniscule gilt omphalos on bottom centre. Satyr masks on handle attachments. Side A: Dionysos in short fringed *chiton*, *nebris* and *himation* with maenad bringing faun. Side B: Maenad with a *lemniskos* adorned *thyrsos*, and satyr with *nebris*. Satyre masks are close to the faces of

69

Riace *Warrior B* and *Marsyas* by Myron. Even more so to some figures on Parthenon metopes 2, 7, 26, and 31. The figures on the vase resemble the design of Thanatos and Peleus painters.[263]

5) Theseus and the Marathon bull kylix, Sofia VBC, 445-440 BC

Detailed description above, in the subchapter 3.2, pp. 14-22.

6) Theseus and Ariadne kantharos, Sofia VBC, 440-435 BC

Detailed description above, in the subchapter 3.3, pp. 22-32.

7) Bellerephon and Chimera kylix, Chernozem, near Plovdiv, 440-430 BC

70

Kylix of "Rhenia" type (FIG. 70). The medallion, encircled by a simple band, shows Bellerephon wear-

261 GORBUNOVA 1971, pp. 26-29, figs. 3-8.

262 GORBUNOVA 1971, pp. 23-26, 30, figs. 2, 6-7.

263 FILOW 1934, pp. 106-111, no 4, fig. 132, pl. 7; MARAZOV 1998, p. 149, no 78.

ing *chlamys* on galloping Pegasus, attacking Chimera with his spear.[264] The leaning head of the hero in three quarters resembles Terpsichore's face on an amphora by Peleus painter. For Pegasus parallels, see an epinetron of slightly later date.[265] Underneath the bottom there is an incised graffito "ΣΚΥ", which reappears on the same position and with the exact same forms of letters on two mugs, from Dalboki and from an unknown place in Thrace.[266] The letters have been variously interpreted: earlier as a vase name (*skyphos*), which now applied on two distinct shapes seems less convincing, and according to a recent hypothesis as a royal name (*Skythodokos*), lacking however any support in the sources.[267] A name it may well be, and most probably that of the common owner of all of three vases. If this is the case, it is interesting to investigate how artifacts once in the possession of one person finished in three different graves. Shared paternal heirloom, or shared booty from a plundered Greek city? Or rather gifts from a lord to his suzerains or warriors? All options remain open for consideration.

8) Bellerephon and Chimera kylix, MMNY, 440-430 BC

71

Unpublished. "Rhenia" type kylix, virtually identical to the previews one, but the execution is more careful and more detailed (FIG. 71). Especially on Pegasus anatomy and reins, the small incised lines on the remiges, and on Bellerephon's *chlamys* fastening and folds.[268]

264 KISYOV 2005, pp. 45-48, pls. 10-11.

265 BOARDMAN 1989, fig. 144; *LIMC* VII (1994), Pegasos 153 (entry by Lochin C.)

266 VICKERS 1986, pl. 1; MARAZOV 2011, p. 83, no 54.

267 SHALGANOVA 2010, pp. 86-88.

268 MMNY inv. 2015.260.2, Mary and Michael Jaharis gift

9) Theseus and Sciron kylix, Kapinovo near Pleven, 430-420 BC

Detailed description above, in the subchapter 3.4, pp. 31-32.

10) Kylix Selene/Nyx, Duvanli tumulus Bashova, 430-420 BC

Kylix of "Rhenia" type. Chiselled inscription ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ on the exterior. The medallion, encircled by a laurel wreath, represents a female figure on a horse galloping above the see, denoted by three fishes. She holds the reins with one hand and her billowing mantle with the other. She wears a *peplos*, decorated richly and with motifs common on the garments of figures painted by Aison and Meidias painter. Her unusual headgear (long scarf tied around the head with one free extremity) may have been inspired by the Nike of *Athena Parthenos*. Filow's idea, that she might be identified with Selene, remains the best among the numerous posterior suggestions.[269]

11) Kylix with Peleus and stag, Sofia, VBC 430-420 BC

Detailed description above, in the subchapter 2.1, pp. 14-16.

12) Phiale with apobatic race, Duvanli tumulus Bashova, 430-420 BC

72

269 FILOV 1934, pp. 65-66, pl. 5; MARAZOV 1998, pp. 181, no 116.

73

Mesomphalic phiale with an added decorative embossed silver gilt band around the omphalos, with a palmette-and-lotus frieze, and a laurel wreath frieze (FIG. 72). Chiselled inscription ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ on the exterior.[270] On the surrounding field four quadrigas, each with a charioteer and a *hoplite-apobate*, run counter-clockwise, and they represent various moments of the contest. The hoplites wear different helmets (*pilos*, Chalcidian, Illyrian) and have different shield emblems (centaur, lion, horse or Pegasus). Many parallels for the chariots appear on Athenian vases, the best of which are Meidian, but no doubt, many details of the galloping horses have their Phidian models on the Parthenon.[271] The mention of Theophrastus that apobatic races took place only in Attica is decisive for the attribution.[272] The Parthenon frieze, with its apobatic race, would be the main and most influential visual reference for the Duvanli phiale.[273]

From an iconographical point of view the closest toreutic parallel, to the Duvanli exemplar, is a silver phiale with repoussé figures on two friezes, in the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (FIG. 73).[274] On the larger frieze, three quadrigas are separated by as many groups of griffins devouring horses. On each one next to the charioteer stands a figure holding a *pelte* (Amazon?). Later, the theme of apobatic chariots converged on phialae with the Nike iconography.[275]

13) Phiale, Thetis and Nereids bringing Achilles' armour, art market, 430-420 BC

74

Unpublished. Large parts restored, but the figures seem almost intact. Mesomphalic phiale with an added decorative embossed silver band around the omphalos, with a palmette-and-lotus frieze, and lesbian *kymation* (FIG. 74). On the surrounding field radially disposed: Thetis on a sea-horse (horse front body with convoluted scally *ketos* hind body, terminating in a fish tail) holding a shield with a scaly *Gorgoneion,* and a spear; a dolphin catching a smaller fish; Nereid on dolphin holding probably a leather belt; small fish; Nereid on dolphin holding a breastplate; jumping dolphin and small fish; Nereid on dolphin holding a long-crested Athenian helmet; small fish. The theme is recurrent on Attic vases since Achilles painter and until Lycurgus and Q painters .[276]

14) Kylix with Scylla, MMNY, 430-420 BC

Unpublished. The kylix has a continuous profile, "Π" shaped handles, and a low base (upper part

270 Filov 1934, pp. 63-65, pl. 4; Marazov 1998, pp. 138, no 64.

271 Boardman 1989, fig. 287; Rolley 1999, figs. 78-79, 84.

272 Theophrastus *apud* Harpocation s.v. ἀποβάτης.

273 Boardman 1985, fig. 96.11; Rolley 1999, fig. 69.

274 Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, inv. 753, probably second quarter of the 4th century BC (unpublished ?). It was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in the early 2000s.

275 Strong 1966, pl. 19A; Bothmer 1984, cat. 88-90.

276 *Phoenix Ancient Art*. http://www.phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/omphalos-phiale-with-thetis-and-the-armor-of-achilles. *LIMC* (1992) Nereids 371-373, 375, 379 (entry by Szabados A.-V.).

75

vertical, lower torus moulding).[277] On the interior, at mid-distance between the medallion and the rim there is a moulded ridge. Above it runs a gilt laurel wreath. The figure of the medallion is framed by a decorative band, composed of a clockwise running wave between two ranges of punched circles (each with a central dot). The marine monster is represented as a composite figure. Its upper body is a woman with torso and face in three quarters, but facing opposite directions. She wears an ornamented *chlamys*, fastened just under her left shoulder, and she holds in her right hand an oar, reposing on her right shoulder. Her ruffled hair and and the *aposkopein* gesture can hardly bewilder her preoccupied, almost sad gaze, as if she was lamenting over her own monstrous fate. The lower body comprises three dog foreparts, and a revolving tail with a series of back spines, terminating on a marine dragon's head. The monster reposes on a rock, but in the background there is a fish, insinuating the proximity of the sea. Scylla is not a very frequent subject on Attic pottery.[278]

277 MMNY inv. 2015.260.1, gift of Mary and Michael Jaharis, together with the *Bellerephon kylix* and the *deer hunt phiale*.

278 *CVA Tubingen Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität 5*, pp. 95-96, pl. (2663) 46.6-9 (early 4th century BC).

15) Kylix with Greco-Thracian rider, private collection, 430-420 BC

Unpublished (?) The kylix belongs to the "Rhenia" type. The medallion figure of a rider is encircled by a narrow decorative band with a false running spiral, and by a wreath made of two olive branches (FIG. 75).[279] The bearded rider and his galloping stallion are represented looking right. He wears a short belted *chiton* without sleeves, and a *chlamys* with ornamented edges, billowing behind his back. He is barefoot, but on the head wears an *alopeke*, the characteristic fur cap of the Thracians. With his left hand holds the reins, while on the right one he balances a spear with a leaf-shaped head and a secondary spike on the back edge, called *sauroter* (literally: the lizard-killer). On the ground, among the pebbles, there are two larger rosettes and a third one just blossoming from a quatrefoil.

There is an evident effort to inscribe the pentagonal composition into the circle of the medallion, and the result is one of the happiest ever achieved, both on clay and metal. For this purpose compass

279 *Phoenix Ancient Art*, New York and Geneva, 2008 (*Crystal* III, pp. 58-60), false citation to HORNBOSTEL 1973, p. 227, nt.7, no 227, pl. 171. Reappeared in *Christie's New York, Antiquities Sale 2490*, 7 December 2011, lot 114. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

measurement have been made from a centring dot, dissimulated under the *chiton's* hem. The base of the pentagon is, as usual, the ground line. Its lower sides are framed by the horse's tail and front legs, while the upper sides are represented by the edge of *chlamys* and the horse's front. The conical top of the *alopeke* hat brings the compositional apex and the attention of the viewer just next to the face of the rider. The slightly inclined spear emphasizes the impetus of the galloping horse, which is a monumental creation *per se*, certainly aware of the Parthenonian horses. Not only has it followed their model for the strong musculature and the irruptive vigour, but even for such details, as the open mouth, the wide nostrils, the large, wide-open eyes, and the special S-shaped forelock of the mane.[280]

The rider also draws inspiration from the same source, although, he is a largely original creation.[281] His clothes and bare feet are entirely Greek, as well as his spear with the *sauroter*. Only the *alopeke* serves like a space tag, and places the scene somewhere in Thrace.

16) Kylix with Helen and Hermes, Sofia VBC, ca. 420 BC

76

Kylix of "Rhenia" type, with an ivy wreath inside the lip and a laurel wreath surrounding the figural scene (FIGS. 76-77).[282] Hermes in chlamys fastened under the neck, wears *petasos* and sandals, and holds

77

a *kerykeion*. His stubble beard, hair, and *contrapposto* recall Theseus on the kantharos no 6. He is leaning on a pilaster bearing the inscription ΑΘΑΝΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ. In front of him Helen sits on a stool with carved legs and has her feet on a *threnys* (footstool).[283] She wears a transparent *chiton* and an ornamented mantle around the waist, which covers also her back head, and which she holds with the right hand over her shoulder. Her pose echoes a sculptural creation: a central figure in the same attitude (though standing) on a copy of the Nemesis statue base in Rhamnous, is believed to be precisely Helen.[284] Her ankle-boots show a specific design with a rosace on the back-side, similar to the boots Helen wears on the kantharos 17, herein. Athanaion (Ἀθαναίων) is not a very frequent name.[285] The use of *omega* should not be taken as a sign of later date. It may well have been officially adopted by the Eucleides reform in 403/402 BC, nonetheless its use is recorded in Athens already in the first half of the 5th century BC, and it was very common on inscriptions of the second half of the

280 Rolley 1999, figs. 78-79, 84.

281 Boardman 1985, figs. 96.1, 96.9.

282 Marzov 2011, pp. 68-69, no 49 published the vase, but he neither commented the figures' Athenian pedigree, nor the chronological implications of the inscription.

283 It belongs to the second type, with curved legs, according to the classification by Richter 1966, pp. 49-52. More recent finds in Andrianou 2009, pp. 60-61 and *passim* in connection with seats and bed-couches.

284 Boardman 1985, fig. 123.

285 There are in all 25 records in the *LPGN* database from the 4th century BC to the early 4th century AD, all from the area of Propontis and the neighboring Black Sea coasts.

century.[286] The *kalos inscription* on vessels is an almost exclusive Athenian feature. The last *kalos inscription* appears on a vase by Codrus painter, dated around 420 BC.[287] It would be thus, too hazardous to postulate any direct influence on the theme of this kylix by the performance of Euripides *Helen*, which was staged only in 412/411 BC, and try to date our vase a decade after the *kalos inscription* fashion was abandoned.

17) Kantharos with Aphrodite and Helen, Sofia, VBC, 420-410 BC

78

Stemmed kantharos with high band handles, and with gilt sielenus masks on their upper attachments (FIGS. 78-79). No knobs are preserved, but their traces do. A plastic ring at mid-height of the stem. The four parts of the vase are cast, hammered and soldered. There are chiselled figural and ornamental details on the walls and the base. Under the rim runs a laurel wreath interrupted at intervals by the heads of the figures. Another laurel wreath decorates the flat base. On the short carination of the junction between the bottom and the walls there is a lesbian *kymation*. The shape is close by its proportions to a clay kantharos with Erotes of the Schuwalow painter (FIG. 80).[288]

On the side A there are six figures (FIG. 81): Naked

79

Paris, but with a *chlamys*, sandals, and holding a spear, courts in a very gracious pose Helen, in front of him. She wears a transparent *chiton*, and a mantle around the waist, of which she holds a fold with the right hand. She has the hair wrapped in a *sakos* and wears a necklace with fusiform pendants. Next to her Aphrodite sits on a *klismos* (chair) assisted by a boy Eros with deployed wings and textile band around his head (FIG. 82). The goddess wears necklace and earrings, and has a double band tied around the hair. She is clad in transparent *chiton* and ornamented *himation*. Behind her two companions of Helen, one of them carrying a hydria, are dressed in *peploi*.

On the side B Helen, a phiale on the left and an oinochoe on the right hand, offers Hermes to assist him in a libation (FIG. 83). The god, recognizable by his kerykeion, and naked but for a *chlamys*, a *petasos* hat, and the sandals, tends his right hand in acceptance.

80

286 On Eucleides reform, see HERRENSCHMIDT 1995 and D'ANGOUR 1999. On 5th century use of omega: LANG 1976, p. 5.

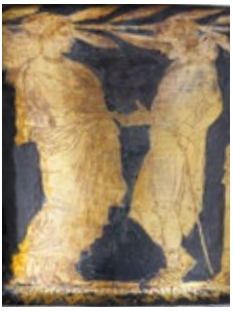
287 SHAPIRO 1995, p. 123; LISSARAGUE 1999, p. 365 points out that another one, on a Meidian vase, is not accepted as a proper *kalos inscription* by BEAZLEY *ARV* 1313.11 since it reads *Ganymedes kalos*.

288 LEZZI-HAFTER 1976, p. 17, pl. 124 c-d (420-410 BC).

81

Three companions of Helen assist the scene, two clad in *chitons* and mantles, and the third one in *peplos*.[289] The figures take inspirations for their poses from the Parthenonian, and mostly post-Parthenonian, sculpture (*Ampharete* and *Hegeso* grave stelae, Artemis votive relief),[290] but they keep their originality, especially for the youthful male figures in *chlamys*, a garment not frequently shown in sculpture. They also find affinities with the figures of the so-callded

82



83

Group R of white-ground lekythoi, and those of the *Meidias* painter,[291] but they surpass them all by the elegance and finesse of their lines, the precision of the details, and the expressivity of the contained pathos on their faces, obtained with an astonishing economy of means. This kantharos is not only one of the most beautiful achievements of the Athenian toreutics, but also one of the more profound and sweeping expressions of the Classical aesthetic ideal, that we are given.

289 A relatively detailed description is given by Marazov 2011, p. 74, no 52, who published the vase, thus I avoid here a more lengthy digression, but I will point to some more details in a forthcoming study.

290 Rolley 1999, figs. 152-153.

291 Boardman 1989, figs. 280-281, 287.

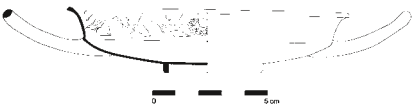
18) Kantharos, Orpheus' death and the Rape of Helen, Sofia, VBC, 420-410 BC

Detailed description above, in the subchapter 3.5, pp. 32-40.

19) Kylix Orpheus and companion, Sofia, VBC, 420-410 BC

84

85



Kylix of the "Rhenia" type with "Π" handles and ring base. Inside the lip there is a wreath of ivy leaves, while another, of laurel leaves and full width gilding, encircles the medallion figures (FIGS. 84-85). The scene represents a convivial moment. On the right, half- laying on a *kline* (sort of couch) with carved legs, a young man leans his head back while bringing his right hand on the head. His gaze lost in the heights gives the impression of someone in meditation or nostalgia, both feelings probably induced by the music of his companion. On his left hand holds an empty stemmed kantharos with corss-bars and knobs on the handles, exactly like the real vases discussed here above. A folded cloth on his back, decorated on the edges with dots, punched circles, and arrowhead motifs, is rather his *himation* than a coverlet. The later, visible along the *kline*, has fringes and different motifs on the edge. Under the *kline* (or possibly in front of it) there is a table, represented too short-legged, no doubt a pictorial convention to avoid overlapping contours with the *kline* and the figures.

On the left side, next to the feet of the half-lying figure, another young man is sited. He holds under his arm a cithara with several tuning keys and seven strings. The fingers of his left hand are placed among the strings, while on the right hand he holds a *plectrum* (guitar pick) to pluck or strum them with. Both figures wear some sort of unusual short *chiton* with *apoptygma* belted in the waist. That of the right figure may even be a long one, since his lower legs are hidden behind the left figure. The later wears in addition a *chlamys* with ornamented edges, and high laced boots, with tongues protruding above the edge. Both men are beardless, have shoulder long hair, and wear on the head elaborate *alopeke* caps. These consist of a four-arc element on the upper part, topped by a spine, and a fox tail hanging on the back (FIG. 86).

On the front and the sides of the *alopeke* is sewed a different, light colored fur, with regularly spaced darker tufts. It does not really look like the fur of the Eurasian lynx (*Lynx lynx*), which bears round spots of irregular spacing and dimensions. And I don't know of any other animal with spotted fur that could live in the Balkans in Antiquity. The image gives the impression of the medieval royal ermine fur, used for the linings of crowns and coronation cloaks. It was confectioned from the white winter fur of the short-tailed weasel (*Mustela erminea*), with added tufts from its black tail-tip for decorative effect. If this is the case, then we could have here its most ancient representation.[292]

The left figure can, though must not, represent Orpheus. In the Greek arts Orpheus was most often represented in Greek dress, but from the third quarter of the 5th century BC onwards, he also appears in Thracian attire.[293] By the time Pausanias visited Delphi and described the painting by Polygnotos in the *Lesche of the Knidians*, Orpheus was expected to be represented as a Thracian, hence the surprised note

86

of the periegete, that the musician was depicted there as a Greek.[294] *Peplos* with *apoptygma* was exclusively a female dress (even priests did not wear *peplos*, just sometimes a long *chiton*). The use of a short *chiton* with the *apoptygma* typical for the *peplos* by the tow figures may signify either some Thracian costume

292 The traditional view, however, is that royal ermine fur was introduced in the 11th century AD. Mentions of fur in ancient literature are rather rare. HERODOTUS 4.109 refers to Budini, a people living in the region of the Caspian Sea, who hunted otters and beavers, and used their fur to decorate the borders of their cloaks.

293 Collected imagery of Orepheus musican in TSIAFAKI 1998, pp. 77-93; *LIMC* VII (1994) Orpheus 7-16, 22-26 (entry by Garezou M,-X.).

294 PAUSANIAS 10.30.6 : "Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἐσθὴς οὔτε ἐπίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ Θρᾴκιον." ("The appearance of Orpheus is Greek and neither his cloth nor his headgear is Thracian").

peculiarity, or more probably, combined with the long hair and the absence of beard, a gendered perception of the Orphic mysteries. Orpheus excluded the women from the mysteries, but he himself dressed as a woman, and has been considered by some ancient authors the one who introduced pederasty to Thrace.[295] Thrace in the eyes of a 5th century Athenian could have a dual meaning. On the one hand it was a world of horses, hardened warriors, and dangerous women, and on the other a world of irrationality, with males driven effeminate by music, wine, and some mystery cults. A world full of uncultivated and unharvested resources, which almost begged to be exploited – in more than one senses.

20) Kylix with three figures, Semibratnie tumulus VI, 420-410 BC

87

The kylix has continuous profile and a ring base, not restored on the vase. Its lip is largely damaged and missing on the part above the figures. A laurel wreath encircles the three figures (FIG. 87). It is gilded in its entire width and interrupted in some points by the figures' garments, attributes, and heads. The entire composition is additionally framed by a frieze of alternating and interlinked widely open lotus flowers and palmettes, and an ivy wreath. On a few points the leaf gilding has gone, leaving visible the chiselled contours of the figures. The scene represents on the right side a sited woman with her leaning head supported by her right hand, the left one reposing on her lap. She wears a transparent *chiton* and a *himation* wrapped around her waist, the extremity of which passes over her left shoulder. On the edges it is decorated with a zig-zag motif. In the middle stands another woman, body in three quarters, head in profile, wearing a *peplos* and looking to the left, towards a bearded man. The centring dot is still visible among the folds of her garment. The man, in a ponderated stance, is wrapped in a mantle, which leaves bare his hairy chest, and which he holds with his left hand. His right hand reposes on a knotted wooden stick.[296]

The shape is very popular in Attic pottery from a little before the middle of the 5th century BC onwards.[297] In the past, the abundance of vegetal ornamental details on this kylix, contradicting the widespread ideas about the alleged simplicity and clarity of the Athenian Classical art, entrained some unsubstantiated attributions.[298] The sited woman recalls the pose of a statue, from about 460 BC and identified with Penelope, though on the Semibratnie kylix she lacks the mantle over the head. She looks more like Electra and Penelope on some Melian reliefs.[299] Her hairdo, however, seems later, closer to works of the later third quarter of the 5th century.[300] The man, on the other side of the composition, assimilates the Phidian achievements on the Parthenon frieze (esp. figs. 46 and 47 on the slab VI of the East frieze).[301] The execution is of very high quality and several details of the technique (entire width gilding of the laurel wreath), of the style (rendering of the eyes and eyebrows, rendering of the female breasts under transparent cloth, and of the nose, lips, and chin profiles), and of the chosen poses (recurrence of the right raised hand) suggest that the Semibratnie VI vase is the work of the same toreutic master, who created also the Hermes and Helen kylix, the Aphrodite and Helen kantharos, the Orpheus kantharos, and the Orpheus kylix (here nos 16-19).

295 CONON in *FGrHist* 26 F 1.45; PAUSANIAS 9.30.5; PHANOCLES fr. 1 Powell; OVIDIUS *Metamorphoses* 10.83-85; HYGINUS *Poetic Astronomy* 2.7. See also BREMMER 1991, pp. 20-23.

296 GORBUNOVA 1971, pp. 29-33, figs. 4, 9-10.

297 SPARKES - TALCOTT 1970, pp. 102-103, 268-269, nos 476-482, 487-492, fig. 5, pl. 22.

298 ZÜCHNER 1938, p. 24 (North Ionia); PICARD 1948, pp. 197-199 (North Ionia); DÖRIG 1987, p. 7, no 3 (Thrace).

299 BOARDMAN 1985, figs. 24-25; O'NEILL 1979, cat. 178, 180.

300 GIKAKI 2011, pp. 159, 161, cat. Ha-G 1, Ha-P 3-5.

301 ROLLEY 1999, fig. 80.

21) Phiale with a probably Dionysiac scene, Chmyreva tumulus, 410-400 BC

Phiale of continuous profile partly preserved (omphalos and rim), with an added silver gilt band around the omphalos, and chiselled and gilt figures on the field. The omphalos band shows a palmette-and-lotus frieze (very similar to those on the phialae discussed above, nos 12-13), and a frieze of stylized confronted sphinxes with a single head. The two friezes are framed by pearl rows. The vase is much damaged and the largest part of the figural scene is missing. The feet of several figures are visible around the omphalos fragment, while parts of their heads appear on the rim fragment, sometimes interrupting the laurel wreath placed just below the rim. One better preserved figure seems to be a female holding a *tympanon*.

Michael Treister in a study of the silver vases found in the cash of Chmyreva tumulus, made extensive comparisons, although he could not yet have knowledge of the recent additions, and admitted the obvious Attic connections, but maintained some reserves about an Attic attribution, principally because of the sphinxes frieze.[302] Bicorporate sphinxes are known, however, already since the 7th century BC in the Corinthian art, and as an archaistic revival they appear again on an Attic grave stele of ca. 400 BC.[303]

22) Phiale with a probably Dionysian scene, Beloi river valley, 410-400 BC (?)

88

Another phiale, similar to the precedent one, but presumably much better preserved, is reported by Treister as published by I. V. Ksenofontova.[304] The band around the omphalos comprises a row of pearls, a frieze of satyr heads, and a lesbian *kymation*. The field is occupied by twelve figures of satyrs and maenads in a Dionysian orgy. No more details are given (wreath?), but such a multifigured vase has rather good chances to belong in the same series. Besides, the silver phiale in the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, with repoussé figurative decoration in two friezes around the omphalos, shows exactly a *thiasos* of twelve Dionysian figures.[305] Satyrs alternate with Maenads, most of which derive from the creations attributed to Kallimachos and dated 420-410 BC. One of them is shown with a *tympanon*, as on the Chmyreva and Shelby White exemplars.[306] The *Dancing Maenads* became, quickly and for long, a much copied and adapted work, and it would not be surprising if one of the first imitations was an Athenian silver phiale with gilt figures.

23) Kylix with wheel medallion, Solokha tumulus, 410-400 BC

The kylix belongs to the "Rhenia" type, with "Π" handles and low ring base. On the interior there is a chased gold foil medallion, in the form of a chariot wheel (fig. 88). Under the small broken and gone parts of its periphery, no chiselled design appears, in contrast with the Semibratnie Nike cup (here above no 1).[307] On the exterior there is a rather carefully chiselled inscription ΛΥΚΟ, and two figures, not well preserved, but certainly roughly executed, showing a dog pursuing a rabbit.[308]

The motif of the chariot wheel is known mainly from the numismatic imagery of the Black Sea area. In Olbia it first appears in association with the inscription APIX (ca. 460 BC), and on the famous staters with Heracles, issued under the Scythian dynast Eminacus (ca. 440 BC). A similar use of the wheel occurs on issues of Messambria, starting about the same period

302 Treister 2009a, pp. 427, 429-431, fig. 5.

303 *LIMC* VIII (1997), p. 1159, Sphinx 158-159 (Corinthian), 161 (Attic), (entry by N. Kourou)

304 Treister 2009a, p. 427; Ksenofontova 2005, pp. 151-152 (*non vidi*).

305 Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, inv. 753.

306 See here above section 5.2.1 no 21, and nt. 274.

307 Mantchevits 1987, pp. 34-35, no 7; Alexeyev 2012, pp. 126-127.

308 Lykos was a rather common Greek name, recorded 30 times in *LGPN* for the alone 5th and 4th centuries BC.

and lasting for a century.[309] The evident connection with Athens, however, is a series of Attic pottery fruit-stands, exported almost exclusively to Spina in the Adriatic, of which the only decoration is a similar wheel medallion in their bowl center.[310]

5.2.2 The "Athenian-colonial" group of silver vases

1) Rhyton with goat protome and Orpheus death scene, Sofia VBC, 420-410 BC

89

The long horn, terminating in a relatively small size goat protome, is fluted in two thirds height and has an ionic kymation on its down-turned rim.[311] Under the rim run two figural friezes framed by ivy and laurel wreaths (fig. 89). The upper frieze represents the death of Orpheus by the Thracian women (fig. 90). The hero is half fallen on his left knee, holds his lyre in the left and a knobbed stick in the right hand. He wears a short belted *chiton* and a *chlamys* or *himation* decorated with dark squares. Behind him a Thracian woman grabs his hair and is about to decapitate him with the sword in her right hand. Another woman further holds a *pelte* and a spear. In front of Orpheus a third woman is about to hit him with a stone. All women wear opulently ornamented *peploi* and mantles. Two have short and the third shoulder-long hair. Some rocks and a plant are the only landscape indications. The dotted hems of the *peploi* are rendered in the same way as the borders of the *chlamydes* worn by the hunters on the deer-hunt phiale (here below no 3). The treatment of the eyes, face profiles, and hair is similar to those of figures on the Amazonomachy phiale, the deer-hunt phiale, and the *gynaikeion* scene kantharos (here following nos 2-4). The lower frieze shows two confronting rams and a dog hunting a hare. This vase, although remaining very close to the Athenian style of gilt figures, represents an already shifting mood in the organization of the scene, the stylistic details, and the execution quality. The short hair of the women may be the result of a direct observation of the Thracian fashion.

2) Phiale with Amazonomachy, Sofia VBC, 410-400 BC

(detailed description here in subchapter 3.6, p. 40-44)

3) Phiale with four riders hunting two deers, MMNY, 410-400 BC

The phiale has an added gilt decorative band around the omphalos with a palmette and lotus frieze, and an ivy wreath, identical to that on the above-mentioned Amazonomachy phiale. The same false double running spiral serves for ground line to the figures shown on the field. Four riders with spears, clad in *chitons* and *chlamydes*, hunt a stag and a hind. Parts of the soil and a small plant are the only indicators of the landscape. Stylistically the figures are very close to the mounted Amazons of the previews phiale.[311a]

309 *SNG BM Black Sea* 270-278 (Messambria), 358, 377-378 (Olbia); *Prospero Collection* 217 (Olbia).

310 Aurigemma 1956, pls. 14-15, 35a, 48a, 68, 77, 97b, 121.

311 Marazov 2011, pp. 65-67, no 48.

311a MMNY, inv. 2015.260.3, see nt. 277

90

91

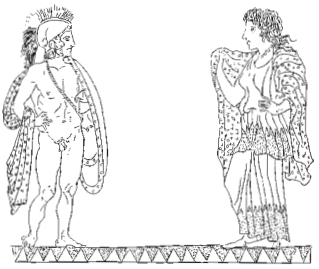
4) "St. Valentine" kantharos with gynekeion scene, Solokha 410-400 BC

A rather rare vase shape with ribbed lower body and simple vertical band handles not exceeding the rim height, dubbed in pottery "St. Valentine" type, shows on its walls a chiselled scene taking place in the women's quarter of a house (*gynaikeion*).[312] Eight female figures are represented in two groups of four, separated by two ionic columns denoting the interior space (FIG. 91). Above them runs a densely designed and strongly stylized wreath of ivy leaves and vines. The entire surface with figures is leaf gilt, in contrast with the usual contour gilding. They are playing music and dancing, in a way familiar from similar scenes, especially on lebetes gamikoi. To a pre-wedding ceremony alludes also the small figure of a hind.[313] Some of the figures wear *chitons* and mantles, and some *peploi* of patterned fabric. Three of them have their hair covered with *sakkos* or *sphendone* head-gears, while three more have short hair (servants?). One figure is holding a triangular harp, much like that shown on a lebes gamikos by the Washing painter.[314] Despite the evident Athenian references a shift remains perceptible on the general design and the execution of many details.

92

5) Rhyton with ram head, Melanippe and Poseidon, Sofia VBC, 410-400 BC

A horn shaped rhyton terminating on a ram's head has an ivy wreath and a frieze of confronted animals under the rim, plus another ivy wreath on the lower part of the horn (FIG. 92). Two pairs of figures are shown in two superposed registers on the upper part



93

312 MANCHEVITS 1980, pp. 61-72, figs. 1-11. MANCHEVITS 1987, pp. 86-88, no 60.

313 For parallels in pottery, see BOARDMAN 1989, 300, 307.

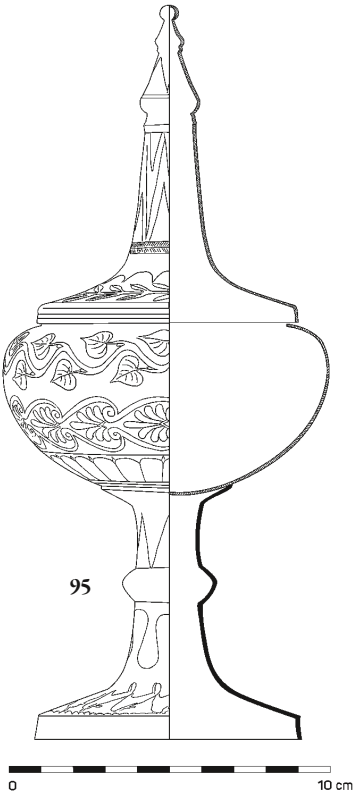
314 BOARDMAN 1989, 207.

of the horn (FIG. 93). Ivan Marazov has rightly identified them as Aeolus and his wife Theia, and on the lower register Melanippe with her infant twin sons, and their father Poseidon.[315] The story, an obscure one narrated in varying versions, was the central plot of two plays by Euripides, *Melanippe Sophe* and *Melanippe Desmotes* (*Melanippe the Wise* and *Melanippe Bound*), staged in ca. 422, and between 422 and 412 BC respectively. The only known representation of the subject to this day was on a much later Apulian crater of the Underworld painter.[316] We observe, here again, contradicting stylistic elements, such as the stance of Theia based on Attic sculptural models, and the short hair of Melanippe, a rather unflattering feature for women in the Athenian iconography.[317] If we combine these observations with the shape of the vase, alien to the Attic pottery, there remains little doubt that it should have been created outside Athens.

6) Plemochoe with dolphins, Sofia VBC, 420-400 BC

94

This silver vase, a typical Attic shape, has decorative and figural elements leaf gilded (FIGS. 94-95).[318] Some of them, such as the laurel wreath on



95

the lid and the dolphin frieze on the base of the ringed stem foot, follow the Athenian models.[319] The rendering of the ivy wreath and the palmettes chain on the body, however, recall a stylization more common on local Thracian toreutics.

7) Acrocup with a Nereid on a ketos, Chmyreva tumulus, 400-390 BC

Again the shape of the vase, with a ribbed body, flaring lip, and high stemmed foot, is characteristic of the Attic pottery ca. 400 BC, where is called late "acrocup" and occurs both in red figure and black glaze fabrics.[320] Our vase, discovered in 1909 and today lost, had in the interior a gilt embossed medallion. The main figure, of a Nereid holding a helmet and riding a *ketos* (imaginary marine creature), was encircled by a vegetal spiral with half

315 MARAZOV 2011, pp. 62-64, no 47.

316 TRENDALL 1989, fig. 210 (330-320 BC).

317 BOARDMAN 1985, 169, 171. Short hair was proper only to slaves.

318 MARAZOV 2011, p. 133, no 97 (improperly identified as lebes).

319 BROMMER 1980.

320 PHARMAKOWSKI 1910, cols. 219-220; VICKERS 1986, pl. 8;

palmettes.[321] The concept is not alien to the Attic vase iconography, but the very presence of the embossed medallion may imply some influence from different centres, possibly in the North Aegean or the Propontis.

5.2.3 Athenian undecorated silver vases in the 5th and early 4th century BC

1) Kantharos from Greece, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 460-450 BC.

96

This is a simple stemmed kantharos, once bearing masks on the handle attachments, cross-bars, and knobs, all of which are now lost (fig. 96).[322]

2) Yakimova tumulus kylix, National Historical Museum, Sofia, 460-450 BC.

97

The kylix represents the earliest stages of the so called "Rhenia" cups, with still relatively high lip, similar to those on pottery parallels from around the middle of the 5th century BC (fig. 97).[323]

3) Semibratnie II, ribbed mug, Hermitage, 450-430 BC.

Not seen; presumably a mug of the so-called "Pheidias" type.[324]

4) Semibratnie II, Pyxis "stemmed lid", Hermitage, 450-430 BC.

Not seen; lids with a high stem terminated by a fusiform element, like a lotus flower bud, are common in the Hellenistic period.[325] An early version of the same type may be the lid of the plemochoe 5.2.2 no 5.

5) Svetitsa tumulus 9 kylix handles (=5 kylikes?), National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, 440-420 BC.

They all have the same shape as the handles of the Athenian kylikes with figural decoration discussed above. Their discovery in a tomb without the bowls (or the bases) is however intriguing.[326]

6) Goliamata tumulus, Duvanli, kantharos, Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, 440-420 BC.

98

This kantharos, found together with the one bearing

321 *LIMC* (1992) Nereids 372, 389 (entry by Szabados A.-V.).

322 Hill 1960, p. 2 with ill.; Oliver 1977, pp. 28-29, no 4. Sparkes –Talcott 1970, no 627, fig, 7, pl. 27.

323 Dimitrova 2008, p. 224, fig. 7. Sparkes - Talcott 1970, cat. 455-457.

324 Gill 1987, p. 52.

325 Gill 1987, p. 47, fig. 1.

326 Kitov 2005, fig. 86.

a gilt Dionysian scene, is undecorated but for the handle attachments, where appear the typical silenus masks (FIG. 98).[327] The masks are different from those on the decorated exemplar, as well as between them. This lent ground for various hypothesis of local manufacture. It may be possible for the masks, but it does not seem to apply for the vase itself.[328]

7) Dalboki tumulus, mug, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 440-420 BC.

Undecorated, "S" profile mug, found with three silver beakers and other bronze vases.[329] It is traditionally dated in the last two decades of the 5th century BC.[330] A comparison with pottery exemplars however, in which the shape evolution is better established, places them earlier towards the end of the third or the very beginning of the last quarter BC.[331] Underneath the bottom there is a graffito "ΣΚΥ", as on the following mug and on the Bellerephon kylix from Chernozem (for possible interpretations, see here above 5.2.1 no 7).

8) VBC mug, 440-420 BC.

99

Undecorated, "S" profile mug, said to be from Thrace (FIG. 99).[332] Virtually a double of the previews one.

9) Bashova tumulus, Duvanli ribbed mug 430-410 BC.

100

The relatively large ribs are associated with an earlier date in the evolution of the series, which started before the middle of the 5th and continued until the middle of the 4th century BC (FIG. 100).[333] The inscription "ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ" on the lip is exactly the same with those on a phiale and a kylix found in the same tomb, denoting probably an otherwise unattested owner's name. On pottery as well as on metal the width of the ribs changes with the time.[334]

10) Nymphaion, South Russia, cup skyphos, Hermitage, 420-400 BC.

101

A typical Athenian shape of skyphos with concave lip with parallels from the Athenian Agora and elsewhere (FIG. 101).[335]

11) Semibratnie VI, South Russia, cup skyphos, Hermitage, 420-400 BC.

Not seen; presumably of the same general shape as the previews one.[336]

327 Filow 1934, pp. 110-111, no 5, fig. 135, pl. 8.7-8; Luri - Costa - Fol 2005, cat. 171.

328 Filow 1934, p. 209.

329 Filow 1931, pp. 50, 54, no 3, fig. 36.10; Strong 1966, p. 85, pl. 18b; Boardman 1987, p. 290, fig. 2

330 The works mentioned in the previews footnote plus the following: Vickers – Gill 1994, pp. 122-123, fig. 5.16; Vickers 2002, pp. 70-71.

331 Caskey – Beazley 1931, p. 42, figs. 30-31; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, p. 299, fig. 102, pl. 186a, no 294; Pellegrini 2009, pl. 31.

332 Marazov 2011, p. 83, no 54; Shalganova 2010

333 Filow 1934, pp. 67-68, fig. 84; Martinez et al. 2015, p. 239, cat. 196.

334 Sparkes – Talcott 1970, nos 203, 214, fig. 3, pl. 11.

335 Vickers 1979, pp. 42-43, pl. 13a; Sparkes – Talcott 1970, no 617, fig. 6, pl. 27.

336 Gill 1987, p. 50, nt. 5.

12) Semibratnie VI, Fruit stand (?), Hermitage, 420-400 BC.

Not seen; a drawing made by M. Vickers and published by D. Gill does not find exact parallels in pottery.[337] Fruit stands, however, with a larger bowl are known in Attic pottery.[338]

13) Zelenski, South Russia, kantharos on stem, Hermitage, 410-400 BC.

The handles are lost and the stem is trumpeting towards the base.[339] The cup itself is squatter than all 4th century BC known types of kantharos.

14) Zelenski, "Talcott class" lekythos, Hermitage, 410-400 BC.

A type of squat lekythos with a wide horizontal lip, usually called "Talcott class".[340] A specifically Attic type known both in red figure and black glaze versions, long before it became common in bronze and silver, with bottle like body and deep hemispherical mouth.[341]

15) Vouni, Cyprus, cup skyphos, Archaeological Museum, Nicosia, 400-390 BC.

102

A straight lip skyphos with pottery parallels from the Athenian Agora (FIG. 102).[342]

337 GILL 1987, p. 47-49, fig. 2.

338 AURIGEMMA 1956, pls. 14-15, 35a, 48a, 68, 77, 97b, 121; SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, pl. 25 (Verona 48 Ce).

339 PHARMAKOWSKI 1913, pp. 185-186, fig. 16; TREISTER 2003, p. 52, fig. 1.

340 PHARMAKOWSKI 1913, p. 187, fig. 15; TREISTER 2003, pp. 52-54, fig. 2.

341 SPARKES 1977. For the later toreutic version, see for example THEMELIS - TOURATSOGLOU 1997, cat. B23, pl. 86.

342 GJERSTAD ET AL. 1937, pl. 92d; ZOURNATZI 2010, fig. 1. SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, nos 593, 603, fig. 6, pl. 26.

5.3 Other Greek 5th century silver plate

There are many more silver vases of the 5th century BC, even if we don't count some late archaic series like the *Lotosphiale*, which probably started during the 6th century but continued almost unchanged until the Persian Wars. Neither do we count all persianizing variants, which throve through the century and eventually led, towards its end, to some predecessors of the Macedonian calyx.[343]

Curiously the earliest 5th century non-persianizing silver vases (two stemmed kylikes and a spherical aryballos with figures of sphinxes) come from Vani, in Georgia.[344] More to the north a peculiar Pegasus rhyton from the Uliap complex shows some amalgamation of Athenian and Ionian characteristic elements.[345] Of Ionian origin might be the series of phialae with a collar of tongues or feathers around the omphalos, and their variants with satyr heads.[346] Silver strainers from Lydia, Thrace, and Scythia are also to be ascribed to the Ionian realm.[347]

Ionia or costal Mysia are the most plausible candidates for artefacts combining Greek and Achaemenid features, like a kyathos with a chiselled sphinx figure and facetted handle,[348] or the horn rhyta series, with small animal head finials or relatively small animal foreparts, and Greek style figural or floral friezes on the top of their horns.[349] Some phialae with figural representations, dating in the end of the century and found in Scythia, could also be related to the production centres of the Hellenized Asia Minor.[350] By the end of the century some silverware production (at least of stemmed kantharoi) is attested in South Italy.[351] More unusual shapes, including

343 On both types, see SIDERIS 2008, pp, 342-345, figs. 3-4, 10-12.

344 LORDKIPANIDZE 1974, figs. 16, 19; KACHARAVA – KVIRKVELIA 2009, pls. 15-16.

345 LESKOV 1985, pp. 40-44, no 365, pl. 13; VICKERS – GILL 1994, p. 41, fig. 2.3.

346 ÖZGEN – ÖZTÜRK 1996, cat. 43; MALBERG 1894, fig. 25.

347 ÖZGEN – ÖZTÜRK 1996, cat. 64; KISYOV 2005, pp. 41-43, fig. 25, pls. 7-8.

348 SIDERIS 2008, fig. 15.

349 FILOW 1934, p. 67, pl. 6; MARAZOV 2011, pp. 59-67, no 47-49.

350 TREISTER 2009a.

351 HOLLOWAY – NABERS 1980, pp. 64-79, figs. 1-5.

an "infundibulum", a kantharoid cup with double handles, an amphoriskos with chiselled figures of Nereids, and a regular karchesion, with masks of Dionysus on the handle attachments, are more difficult to attribute to a particular domain due to the lack of parallels.[352]

The last decade of the 5th and the first of the 4th century BC represent the transitional period from one decorative technique to another in Greek toreutics. The chiselled figure is abandoned in favour of that executed in relief, mostly by embossing. Among the last exemplars of this technique is a horn with rider figures from Karagodeuashkh.[353] Chiselling remains in use during the 4th century, but mostly for some floral designs on the interior of silver (and bronze) kylikes, or other ornamental details. A silver Panathenaic amphora from a grave (heroon?) in the Agora of Aegae, said to bear a chariot race scene in gilt figure technique, is not yet published.[354]

5.4 General observations and some questions

If we consider the representations of Greek heroes on artefacts found in Thrace, as it is summarized in the Table 1, we arrive to some interesting observations. At first glance one could be surprised by the fact that they are in total, for the two centuries considered here, less numerous than would be expected, given the long and everywhere stressed higher degree of Hellenisation of the Thracians, compared to other neighbours of the Greeks. Truth is that if we compare with Etruria, for instance, the results will be strongly biased by two factors. One was the taste of the Etruscans for high quality Athenian pottery. And the other, which eventually conditioned the taste, was their capacity and enthusiasm to adopt, adapt, and incorporate the imagery and the visual narratives of the Attic vases, into their own semantic structures and mythological narrative. The Thracians shared certainly some myths and a common foundation with the Greeks, especially that part originating in the East, but the complex myth plots and their extravagant imagery were rather alien to them. Only three or four out of forty cases are artefacts made in the local Thracian style (one *prometopidion* and two or three jugs). They all date in the advanced 4th century and rework in the local idiom the same fascinating figure: Heracles.

This is another, less surprising, observation: Heracles alone represents almost 40% of the total; yet only one exemplar may belongs to the 5th century BC. Of the remaining heroes most appear once or twice. Orpheus, thrice, is at home in Thrace. But Bellerephon twice, plus one Chimera alone and one more tentative provenance, what is doing in Thrace? He probably serves the Athenian interests there, as he became, after the Persian Wars, one of the symbolic fighters against the Oriental barbarity. To this effect, however, Theseus seems even more dedicated, only second in the total number of artefacts after Heracles, but incontestably first in the 5th century BC. Then the reality of these documents comes in mind. Almost 60% of them are metal vases, an unparalleled proportion. Moreover, 50% represents silverware. Even among weaponry and horse ornaments those in precious metal, largely outnumber the bronze ones. Hero images on pottery are rare and far apart in time.

I have tried in the previous chapters to show how the 5th century figurative silverware found in Thrace is connected to the arts and culture of Athens. The detailed analysis and comparison of their figures does not allow serious doubts. The presence of *kalos inscription*, the Apobatic race, and ultimately Theseus himself further confirm this attribution. Their dates cover the second half of the 5th century and their thematic, though varying, keeps constantly with the Athenian state ideology and the political propaganda related to the Athenian hegemony.

A smaller group, which I called for convenience 'Athenian colonial', shows many similar traits and yet, there is a slight shift in the spirit rather than in the execution details. These vases, all dating to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC, could have been created theoretically in any city with favourable conditions for Athenian emigrant artists (or just trained in Athens). Amphipolis would be the ideal candidate, if it was not captured

352 Kisyov 2005, pp. 39-41, fig. 24, pl. 6; Marazov 2013, cat. 116.

353 Malberg 1894, figs. 22-23.

354 Saatsoglou-Palliadeli 2011.

by the Spartan general Brasidas in 422 BC, that is, before any of the 'colonial' vases can be dated. Abdera is a plausible alternative, especially if we keep in mind that the Abderitan Nymphodoros was an Athenian proxenos to the Odrysean king Sitalkes, who was also his brother in law. We may imply that Abdera remained in good terms with Sitalkes' successor on the throne, Seuthes I. Abdera, which was twice colonized from Ionia and simultaneously was open to trade for the Thracians, could also contribute both, the distinctive Ionian element of this group, and the *realia* of Thracian life incorporated in the representations (women with short hair, use of horn-rhyta, hunt of deer on horses).

All vases discussed above are exclusively used in the symposium: kylikes, kantharoi, phialae, and some undecorated mugs from Athens, and the same, plus rhyta, from the colonial group. The only exception is a plemochoe with dolphins and a peculiar bold palmette frieze, which preludes a common trend of the 4th century Thracian toreutics. There are not yet (not yet in the historical time, or not yet in our archaeological record?) large shapes, like the oinochoae, lekanae, situlae and hydriae, which we know in the later 4th century from Macedonia and Thrace.

Of the 45 silver vases, decorated or not, and attributed to Athens or to a colonial workshop, less than half come from documented excavations (21), most of which are old excavations registering no more than the basic information. Yet nearly all of the documented exemplars come from monumental tumular tombs, and none from treasures, like those well known of the middle and second half of the 4th century BC. Sometimes the stylistic and other characteristics of some vases place them earlier than the burial itself, from one to several decades. This is less uncommon than one might think. Actually the phenomenon is observed in Greece and in all adjacent cultural domains, with chronological discrepancies exceptionally extending up to two centuries, but quite frequently up to one or two generations. There are also two patterns of metal ware deposition. One shows simply a higher frequency of metal vases among grave goods and it is time and region specific. The other combines higher general frequency of metal ware with higher frequency of much older vases. Thrace in the second half of the 5th century BC follows the former pattern, while Macedonia in the last quarter of the 4th century BC follows the later one.

Were these vases, found in Thrace, made specifically for the Thracians? There is no evidence to support such hypothesis, nor reason to suggest such intention. Their shapes are Attic – horn-rhyta entered the repertory only with the colonial group. Their style is Athenian, mostly inspired by the monumental arts as far as we may judge from comparisons with sculpture (they would be even closer to large-scale paintings, which did not survive).

In the case of the *Theseus kantharos* in particular, there is an evident care for monumentality. Not only the figures are monumental in their conception, but even the label inscriptions are inscribed under their feet, not on the back ground as on pottery, on other inscribed metal ware, and presumably on large scale paintings. Was this choice dictated exclusively by some aesthetic preoccupation, or is it a sign of copying a sculpted *syntagma*, on which the label inscriptions could be placed only on the base? Probably both.

The themes are as well strongly Athenian. The national hero Theseus in various deeds, Bellerephon in anti-Persian mission, *apobates* in competitive action, and the romanticized and fictional Helen, as an eternally eluding war cause. What of all this addresses specifically the Thracians? In addition a certain Athanaion is named *kalos* by a careful inscription, obviously from the toreut's hand. Even Orpheus is the mirroring of the Thracian hero cherished by the Athenian culture, and not necessarily adopted as such by the Thracians (conspicuously absent in native Thracian art). Besides, the same victorious or generic subjects decorate also the Athenian silverware found in Scythia: Nike, Bellerephon and Dionysian scenes.

Most of these vases were in all probability commissioned by Athenian citizens to Athenian toreuts, since shortly after the Persian Wars and until the end of the Peloponnesian War, for private use. The extensive and detailed inventories of the Hecatompedon, the Opisthodomos, and the Erechtheion on the Acropolis comprise also some comparable gold and

silver drinking vases (33 of silver and five of gold, rhyta and phialae of course not counted) all entering the inventories between 434 and 414 BC. How they ended up in Thracian (and Scythian) graves and what did they mean for their changing owners and users, are the subjects of the next chapter.

The Athenian-Thracian relations are a subject discussed by historians of Antiquity much earlier than by classical archaeologists. No surprise here, since such eminent sources as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon were always available, while the archaeological material comes to light slowly and painfully (sometimes at the price of lost context) mostly during the few past decades.

It became traditional in the relevant scholarship to start the discussion of the Athenian-Thracian relations with Miltiades the Elder, of the noble Athenian family of Philaids, who founded and ruled over Chersonese as a tyrant between ca. 555 and 520 BC, probably also as a suzerain to the Great King.[355] And there are good reasons for such start, his connection to Thucydides not being the least. Miltiades the Elder was later succeeded in the tyranny by his step-nephew, Miltiades the Younger, the famous commander of the Greek forces in the Marathon Battle. This younger Miltiades married Hegesipyle, the daughter of a Thracian king named Olorus. Olorus was also the name of Thucydides father, making thus obvious the connection of the historian to Thrace and to the Philaids clan.[356] The possessions of the family in Thrace were rather extensive and included some silver mines in Skapte Hyle, in the Thacian peraea, owned by Thucydides himself. This is the necessary preamble to the tumultuous relations between the mightiest Greek city and the "largest country in Europe".[357]

---

355 Herodotus 6.39-40. The connection of the Pisistratids with Thrace is regarded rather as occasional since Lavelle 1993, pp. 21-22 has shown that they were never sustained appreciably by Thracian revenues..

356 Herodotus 6.36-41; Thucydides 4.105.1; Plutarch *Cimon* 4; Vlassopoulos 2013, p. 123.

357 Thucydides 2.29 and 2.97.5; Diodorus Siculus 12.50; Sears 2013 collected the evidence for the Thrakophoitai (the Athenians who for various reasons lived for some time in Thrace). However his somewhat simplistic conclusions on the appeal of the Thracian lifestyle to the Athenian aristocracy were criticized by Vlassopoulos 2013a, Demetriou 2014, and Taylor 2014.

6.
ATHENIAN DIPLOMACY AND SILVER IN THRACE

During the best part of Teres I reign (end of 6th or beginning of 5th century – 448 BC, but nominally rather only from 460s) Athens was occupied with the defence first, and then the offensive against Persians. Teres, who had concluded some treaty with the Scythians by 496 BC, felt secure enough to lead raids against the Greek cities in the South-East of his kingdom, the area east of Hebros River, while at the same time Alexander I of Macedon started to press on the Thracians of Chalcidice (campaigns in 499-498 and definitive expulsion in 455 and 451 BC). Mardonius re-subjugated Thrace in 492 BC.[358] The Athenians took Sestos in 478 and that was a decisive step to re-establish communication with the northern shores of Black Sea under their control. The first Athenian toreutic artefacts of this period (*Nike*, *Dionysos* and *Belerephon kylikes* from Semibratnie) could have reached Scythia as introductory gifts to local chieftains, once the Hellespont was secured.

In 465 BC the Athenians tried to establish a colony at Ennea Hodoi, in the territory of Edonians, near the Strymon River (where already another unsuccessful attempt was made by the Milesian tyrant Histiaeus in 497 BC). But according to Thucydides, all 10.000 colonists were massacred by the Thracians.[359] During the 460s Teres I abandoned the Thraco-Macedonian coinage, which was related to the Persian dominance of the region.[360] Towards the middle of the century, with the transport of the Delian League treasury from Delos to Athens, and the imposition of tribute payment in cash to all allied cities, the League became definitively an Athenian hegemony (*arche*).

The Athenian Tribute Lists since their publication are a constant source of calculations, interpretations, and extrapolations for the period they cover, 454 to 404 BC. For the years between 454 and 449 the absence of payments from some cities belonging to the Thracian and Hellespontic tribute regions, has been interpreted as an indication for a treaty between Teres I and Athens. Furthermore, the missing sums were supposedly paid to the Odrysian king in exchange for his loyalty and assistance to Athens.[361] Or, in other words, as recognition of his power and importance both, for the welfare of the Greek cities, and for the thrive of the Athenian trade.

Teres was briefly succeeded by his son Sparadokos (448-445 BC), who may already have co-ruled with his father during the last years of his reign. We know him only thanks to his coinage, initially though to have been minted in Olynthus, but according to recent studies it was in Attic standard and rather connected to Aenos, or possibly minted directly in Thrace.[362] Again some missing years of payment, or considerably reduced payments for some cities like Abdera, give ground for a hypothetical concession of these taxes from Pericles to Sparadokos, although the *Peace of Callias* concluded in 449 BC between Athens and the Great King, makes such an arrangement looking less urgent.[363]

Sitalces, the younger son of Teres, succeeded on the throne and reigned until 424 BC. During his reign the Odrysian state became most powerful and disposed of the highest metal revenues in its history.[364] His relation to Athens were always in a fragile equilibrium, but both his control over much needed resources (like timber, grain, slaves and metals) and the clouds of the Peloponnesian League over Athens, made the later a rather

358 Herodotus 6.43.1. King Teres migh be at the origin of the Tereus myth version set in Thrace (originally set in Daulis of Phokis). Thucydides 2.29.3 protested against this version, see Vlassopoulos 2013, p. 127.

359 Thucydides 1.100.3.

360 Picard 2007, 467; Rufin Solas 2013, p. 34

361 Merrit – Wade-Gery – McGregor 1950, p. 310; Porozhanov 2011, p. 155.

362 Yurukova 1992, pp. 37-42; Psoma 2002, pp. 513-522. For a different approach, which sees Sparadokos as a simple local ruler, see Zahrnt 2015, p. 40.

363 Fol 1972, p. 143 argues for earliest treaties between Athenians and Thracians in 447 BC.

364 Thucidides 2.97; Diodorus Siculus 12.50; Topalov 1994, p. 64.

condescending interlocutor. Much of the Athenian silverware found in Thrace came there under his reign, as diplomatic gifts to the king and the local rulers, possibly in connection with the finally successful foundation of a colony, Amphipolis in 436 BC, almost in the exact location of the unsuccessful Ennea Hodoi.
Sitalkes was married to the sister of a certain Nymphodoros from Abdera, whom the Athenians sent as *proxenos* to the Sitalkes court to defend their cause.[365] Some of the most beautiful and distinctive "material mouthpieces" of the Athenian state ideology, such as the *Theseus and Marathon bull kylix* and the *Theseus kantharos*, could have reached Thrace with this embassy. It seems fully legitimate to suppose that these or other similar high quality presents were offered to Sadokos, the son of Sitalkes, when he was awarded the Athenian citizenship, as a long-range investment of the Athenian diplomacy, which however was eventually averted by a shooting of fortune.[366] In short term they gained his assistance in imprisoning and sending to Athens the delegates dispatched to the court of Sitalkes from Sparta, much worried by following the Athenian-Thracian alliance growing dangerous.[367]
The Athenians aimed to obtain Sitalkes' assistance in combating Perdicas of Macedon. After securing his northern borders by giving his sister as bride to the Scythian king Ariapithes,[368] the Odrysian king assembled an enormous army and marched against Macedon, devastating Chalcidice (which had stepped out of the Athenian League, together with Potidaea, since 432 BC) and the region as far as Axios River. Perdicas could simply not confront the Thracian army.[369]
According to the calculations of "missing" tributes on the lists, and the assumption that they were paid to the Odrysian king, the later could have gained from the Greek cities members of the Athenian League, as much as 77 talents per year.[370] And there were other Greek cities, not members of the League, which probably paid tributes to him too, such as Cardia and Pactya, as well as his own subjects. It may be taken for sure that he, his royal house, and some of the noble local rulers were rich enough, and they could neglect the Athenian silverware gifts, if it was for their bare intrinsic value. But these "exotic" pieces were probably valued for their unparalleled craftsmanship, their intriguing imagery, and ultimately for their capacity to render the Thracian aristocracy communicant of the cultivated Greek world.
The successor of Sitalkes was not his son, but his nephew Seuthes I.[371] He had moved from his uncle's pro-Athenian position by accepting in marriage Perdicas' sister Stratonike.[372] But the Athenians gained him back and they possibly concluded some treaty with him between 424 and 422 BC.[373] In such occasion they could have brought gifts, like the *Apobatic race phiale*, or the *Theseus and Sciron kylix*, or the *Bellerephon kylix*. Besides, it was well known that one could not make any business with him without gifts. Such gifts were added to his considerable revenue of 400 talents.[374]
After the victory of Brasidas, supported by the Thracian tribe of the Edonians, in Amphipolis in 422 BC, the Athenians, supported by another tribe, the Odomantians, lose definitively control of the Thracian coast.[375] The short-lived *Peace of Nikias*, concluded between Sparta and Athens, and the succeeding Sicilian expedition moved away from Thrace the main theatre of military operations. Some interaction with Athens is documented again only from 411 and mostly between 407 and 404 BC, when Alcibiades takes Selymbria, marches against Byzantium, is given Pactya by Seuthes to establish himself as a local ruler, and controls the forts of Bisanthe and Neon Teichos.[376] This is the time when such toreutic artefacts, as the kantharoi and kylikes with Helen and Orpheus made their way to

365 Thucidides 2.29.4-5. Merrit – Wade-Gery – McGregor 1950, p. 311.

366 Thucydides 2.29; Aristophanes *Acharnians* 141-150. Zahrnt 2015, p. 41.

367 Herodotus 7.137; Thucidides 2.67.1-3;

368 Herodotus 4.80.1-5.

369 Thucidides 1.57.61, 2.95.1-2 and 2.98.100.

370 Porozhanov 2011, p. 176. It is also possible that these cities paid taxes to the Odrysian king only if they were trading in his domain, as Loucopoulou 2002 has suggested.

371 If we are to believe the allegations made by Demosthenes 12.9, Sadokos was murdered by his cousin Seuthes.

372 Thucidides 2.101.5-6, 4.101.5-6.

373 Fol 1975, pp. 123-124.

374 Thucidides 2.97.3-4. Gifts were also offered to the Thracian nobility.

375 Thucidides 4.102-109, 5.6.1-4.

376 Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.1.11, 1.3.10 and 1.5.17; Diodorus Siculus 13.66.3-4 and 13.74.2; Plutarch *Alcibiades* 30, 36; Cornelius Nepos *Alcibiades* 7.4-5.

Thrace. Somehow the vainglorious temper of Alciabiades fits well with the ambivalent figures on these cups, and their exuberant treatment. He probably would be more proud himself to present them, than their hypothetical recipient. We know that he was friend with the Odrysian kings Medokos (Amadocus I) and Seuthes II. And he did not miss to brag about their friendship to the Athenian generals, just before the final battle of the Peloponnesian War, in Aegospotami.[377]

This would be about the end of the Athenian figured silverware and its use as diplomatic gift in the Thracian and Scythian domains. The passage to the relief figure, the financial and social difficulties in Athens, the changed dynamics of contacts with the northern neighbours, and the emergence of other toreutic centres and other regional powers probably stopped, or at least diminished, the Athenian luxury toreutic production for a few years. Until, of course, Athens re-entered the game with innovative and masterful creations, exploiting the new trend of the relief figure, mostly in bronze, already during the first quarter of the 4th century BC. But we must wait more than half a century until a comparable and better documented phenomenon occurred in the heart of the Macedonia, the next Panhellenic, and universal, power.

The Athenians have seen on these vases some reflection of their "national" proud, and probably many of the values, which ruled their lives: *timé*, *ethos*, *metron*, *rythmos*. Such vases were not just accessories of the *kalokagathia* postulate, but rather some of its most accomplished bearers in such small scale, yet pervaded by the same spirit as the monumental art acclaimed in public spaces. Nevertheless, they were not originally destined for public display or use. *Tryphe* was either banned from the public sphere, or remained the prerogative of the sacred space, like the gold-and-ivory *Parthenos*. They were used in symposia, and we may be certain that the families, who could and would afford them, were not as few as previews scholarship sometimes pretended, under an austere theoretical scheme idealizing the Athenian democracy.

These vases did not survived in large numbers because the social practice and the funerary customs of the Athenians, and of most southern Greeks, were different than those of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Scythians. Virtually all of these vases were at some point melted down to produce new luxury items, or simply to mint coins. Only a few escaped, through the vagaries of the fate, to other domains, where they probably were understood in a different way, but where the local taste for luxury and the funerary customs allowed them to be placed in graves and eventually reach us. Some vases, like the *Theseus kylix* and the *Theseus kantharos*, could be state commissions. Most of them, however, were just private commissions, since it is highly improbable that such luxury artefacts could be serially produced for the market. From the private Athenian symposia they could pass through state purchase, confiscation, or even private initiative and donation, to the state management and could become gifts accompanying the numerous embassies to the North. I also can easily imagine some prominent member of the Philaids family, who owned private silver mines in Thrace, distributing a few such vases from his own property to the local Thracian chieftains, in order to preserve piece around his estates, and simultaneously passing it in the assembly as an act of generosity, and as a donation for the sake of the state diplomatic relations, and in favour of demos. And in some sense it would also be true.

It is more difficult to decipher the reception of such objects by the Thracians. Did they value them only as precious metal? Probably not. Did they understand or interpret the images in their own terms? Possibly, but the absence of local versions of Greek heroes imagery until the advanced 4th century, and then still rare, may indicate that the Thracians did not venture much in interpreting or transposing these images in their own mythological narratives. Nevertheless we only can be grateful to them for preserving for our eyes a glimpse of what could be an astonishing artistic production.

As the worries for an imminent war in the beginning, and for its disasters later, clouded above Athens, the luxury toreutics engaged in the diplomatic exchanges with Thrace represent literally the silver lining on those clouds. Pity we cannot have the entire shiny picture.

377 Diodorus Siculus 13.105.3.

7.
CONCLUSIONS

All along this study we have traced the presence of Greek heroes on artefacts found in Thrace, both imported and of local manufacture. The archaeological evidence shows that the Greek heroic imagery, although familiar to the Thracians, never enjoyed much popularity, at least not like the Dionysian scenes and the generic subjects depicted on so many Attic vases. The two most prominent figures, as well as other less widespread, are more common on toreutics, and especially on metal vases, than on other luxury or every day artefacts. This is possibly due to the fact that most of these toreutic artefacts were not specifically intended for the Thracian audience.

The Theseus and Helen legends are most popular with the Athenian silverware, following a trend apparent throughout the Athenian artistic output of the second half of the 5th century BC, and including the creations of monumental sculpture and pottery. Heracles, almost absent in the 5th, is much better represented during the 4th century BC, and the only one until now, among all Greek heroes, to have been adopted and adapted in the local Thracian artistic idiom. A gradually increasing sensibility to "Thracian" themes, such as Orpheus, is observed towards the end of the 5th century, especially after the establishment of a new production centre for silverware, somewhere in the Northern Aegean, which combined the Ionian artistic influences with the Thracian life realia. We need to keep in mind, however, that when we say "Thracian themes", this term reflects rather the way the Greeks themselves labelled stories and connected legends and peoples, than the proper reception and evaluation of these narratives by the Thracians.

For a long time the scholarship rejected the importance of the Athenian toreutic, and especially silverware production, partly because of the scanty or neglected evidence, and partly because it was quite disturbing for the idealizing construct of the Athenian democracy, where *tryphe* and *thambos* had no place. The Athenian social practice did not help the archaeological record of this exceptional artistic production, although the literary references to it are not missing. Until, the coincidence of increasing insecurity before and during the Peloponnesian War, led Athens to sick an ally in the North and by this to get access to the resources he controlled. The Athenian silverware was eminently designed for banquets, and by its imagery conveyed messages related to the official state ideology, or subtly alluding to the distressful political realities of the time, as it was often the case with monumental arts and poetry. Thus, a few exemplars of the Athenian toreutic art found their way to Thrace, mostly as diplomatic gifts to the Odrysian kings and the Thracian nobility. One should not exclude the possibility of gifts made by private individuals in view of favourable agreements with the Thracians for the exploitation of mines, forests, and cultivable lands. These vases, however, could hardly represent the object of free market trade. Their presence mostly in the Thracian, and in a lesser scale in the Scythian graves, is the other side of the happy coincidence, which allowed them to reach us. They are conspicuously absent, until now, from the Macedonian graves, indicating rather a different kind of relations and priorities between Athens and the expanding Macedonia, than a difference of taste or funeral practice in the later.

The inspiration, composition, and execution of the gilt figural scenes on these silver vases are of the highest quality, and in full harmony with the political and artistic spirit of their time. Many of them emanate directly from the monumental Parthenonian and post-Parthenonian sculpture, and presumably from comparable creations of large scale painting, translating into a small-scale luxury media the philosophical and aesthetic quests, which characterize the high Classical art.

TABLE 1.
GREEK HEROES IN THRACE, 500-300 BC

HERO	Metal Ware			Black & Red Fig. Pottery	Horse Trapping		Arms & Weapons		TOTAL
	Gold	Silver	Bronze		Gold	Silver	Gold & Silver	Bronze	
Theseus (one tentative)		4 (+1?)	1	1 bf					6 (+1?)
Theseus & Pirithous		1							1
Heracles	2	5	2	1 bf	1	3		1	15
Heracles & Iolaos (?)	1								1
Orpheus		3							3
Bellerephon (once Chimera alone)		2 (+2?)							2 (+2?)
Peleus		1					1		2
Meleager (once Atalanta)		1		1 bf					2
Neoptolemus & Odysseus		1							1
Aeolus		1							1
Paris & Helen	1	1		1 rf					3
Oedipus (tentative)							1		1
Cadmus (tentative)							1		1
Triptolemus				1 rf					1
TOTAL	**4**	**20 (+3?)**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**40 (+3?)**

8.
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

8.1 ANCIENT SOURCES

Aeschylus *Eumenides* 680-690
Aristophanes *Acharnians* 141-150, *Hippeis* 1111-1118
Athenaeus 9.75-78,11.478 a-b, 11.782b
Cicero *Brutus* 296, *De Natura Deorum* 3.22, *In Verrem* 4.32
Conon in *FGrHist* 26 F 1.45
Cornelius Nepos *Alcibiades* 7.4-5
Demosthenes 12.9
Diodorus Siculus 4.13.3, 4.13, 4.28, 4.59.612.50. 4.63, 13.105.3, 13.66.3-4, 13.74.2
Diogenes Laertius 1.5
Eupolis *Demoi* frs. 99-144 KA, *Poleis* frs. 245-247 KA
Euripides *Bacchae* 560, *Ion* 59, 95
Herodotus 2.51.4, 2.113-120, 4.80.1-5, 4.109, 6.36-41, 6.39-40, 6.43.1, 7.137, 9.73
Homer *Iliad* 18.506, 23.621, *Odyssey* 5.230, 10.85, 10.156-172, 10.543
Hyginus *Poetic Astronomy* 2.5, 2.7, 2.18
Justinus 2.4
Nicander *Theriaca* 150
Orphicorum Fragmenta T 38-41
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.433 , 10.83-85.
Pausanias 1.15.2-3, 1.17.2-3, 1.27.9, 1.41.5-7, 1.42, 3.26.3, 4.2.3, 5.10. 2, 7.2.7, 9.30.5, 9.30.7, 10.30.6
Phanocles fr. 1 Powell.
Philochorus in *FGrHist* 328 F18a
Phrynichus *Comasts*, *apud* Athenaeus 11.474b
Pindar *Nemeans* 1. 35-60, 4.29, 5.26, *Olympian* 3.26-27, *apud* Pausanias 1.18.5
Plato *Symposium* 215 a-b
Pliny *Natural History* 33.55.154-156, 43.131
Plutarch *Alcibiades* 30, 36, *Alexander* 14.8, *Cimon* 4, 8, *Lysander* 9-10, 14-15, *Theseus* 6.7, 8.1, 14.1, 26-27, 29, 31-32, 35
Porphyrius on Horace, *Epistles* 1.5.1.
Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2. 4, 2.5.3, 2.5.7, 2.8, 2.95, 3.11.2, 3.12.7, 3.15.7, *Epitome* 1.8, 1.24, 1.16
Pseudo-Aristotle fr. 641, 48
Pseudo-Hyginus *Fabulae* 1.82, 30, 38,79-80
Sappho *Epithalamia* 19 (Bidez-Cumont 194; Lobel-Page 34)
Scholiast of Pindar *Nemean* 4.54, 4.59
Servius, *ad Aen.* 8.294
Statius, *Thebaid* 12.672
Strabo 9.1.22, 10.2.71
Theocritus *Idylls* 24
Theophrastus *Characters* 16, *apud* Harpocation s.v. ἀποβάτης
Thucidides 1.3, 1.9, 1.57.61, 1.100.3, 2.29.4-5, 2.67.1-3, 2.95.1-2, 2.97.3-5, 2.98.100, 2.99, 4.101.6, 4.102-109, 4.105.1, 5.3
Tzetzes *Lycophron* 743
Virgil *Aeneid* 8.288.
Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 6.11, 6.17, *Hellenica* 1.1.11, 1.3.10, 1.5.17, 2.1.22-30, 2.2.7-9, 23
Zenobius *Proverbs* 5.20

8.2 ABBREVIATED WORKS

- *ANSSNG:* American Numismatic Society, *Syllogae Nummorum Graecorum*
- *BMC:* R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (London 1873-)
  Central Greece
  Italy
- Beazley *ARV²:* J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963).
- *CVA: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (Paris 1923-)
  Berlin Antiquarium 3
  Fiesdole, Collezione Constantini 1
  London, British Museum 5
  Tubingen Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität
- *LIMC:* J. Boardman (ed.), *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich 1981–2009)
  II (1984), Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias)
  VI (1992), Nereids (A.-V. Szabados).

VI (1992), Lykos III, (S. Woodford)
VI (1992), Korinthos (Ch. Papagerorgiadou)
VI (1992), Meleagros (J. Bazant)
VI (1992), Minos (G. Berger-Doer)
VII (1994), Orpheus (M.-X.Garezou)
VII (1994), Pegasos (C. Lochin)
VIII (1997), Sphinx (N. Kourou)
VIII (1997), Theseus (J. Neils).

- *LPGN*: Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (Oxford 1987–)
- *SNG:* British Academy, *Sylloge nummorum graecorum* (London 1931–)
  Brtish Musuem, Black Sea

8.3 SALES CATALOGUES

- *Christie's New York, Antiquities,* sale 9540, 7 December 2000.
- *Christie's New York, Antiquities,* sale 2490, 7 December 2011.
- *BCD Boeotia:* Classical Numismatic Group. *The BCD Collection of the Coinage of Boiotia*. Triton IX Auction, Session 1, New York, 10 January 2006.
- *Gorny & Mosch Kunst der Antike,* sale 227, 17 December 2014.
- *Gorny & Mosch, Kunst der Antike,* sale 231, 17 June 2015.
- *Phoenix Ancient Art*, New York and Geneva, 2008 (*Crystal* III).
- *Phoenix Ancient Art*. http://www.phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/omphalos-phiale-with-thetis-and-the-armor-of-achilles.
- *Pierre Bergé et associés. Archéologie*. Vente aux enchères, 26 Novembre 2013 Drouot-Richelieu, Paris.
  Sotheby's Antiquities, London, sale 9599, 13 May 2003.

8.4 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam-Veleni P. 2012: *Trafficking of Antiquities: Stop it*, Thessaloniki.

Agard W. R. 1928: "Theseus. A National Hero", *The Classical Journal* 24, no. 2, pp. 84-91.

Agre D. 2011: *The tumulus of Golyamata Mogila near the villages of Malomirovo and Zlatinitsa*, Sofia.

Alexeyev A. Yu. 2012: *The Gold of the Scythian Kings in the Hermitage Collection*, St. Petersburg.

Amandry P. 1988: "A propos de monuments de Delphes: Questions de chronologie (I)", *BCH* 112, pp. 591-610

Andrianou D. 2009: *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*, Cambridge.

Andronikos M. 1984: *Vergina. Ther Royal Tombs and the Ancient City,* Athens.

Archibald Z. H. 1998: *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*, Oxford.

Arrington N. T. 2014: *Ashes, Images, and Memories. The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens,* Oxford.

Aurigemma S. 1956: *La necropoli di Spina in vale Trebba. Scavi di Spina* I.2, Rome.

Avramidou A. 2011: *The Codrus Painter, Iconography and reception of Athenian vases in the age of Pericles*, Madison.

Avramidou A., Tsiafaki D. 2015, *Αττική κεραμική. Συμβολή στις επαφές Αθήνας και Θράκης*, Athens (in Greek with extensive English abstract).

Barr-Sharrar B. 2008: *The Derveni Krater. Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork,* Princeton.

Bérard Cl. 1983 : "Héros de tout poil d'Herakles imberbe à Tarzan barbu", in Lissarague F., Thelamon F. (eds.), *Image et céramique grecque : Actes du Colloque de Rouen 25-26 nov. 1982*, Rouen 1983, pp. 111-118.

Bessios M. 2010: *Πιερίδων Στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Πιερίας*, Katerini [Wreath of Pierids. Pydna, Methoni and the antiquities of northern Pieria, in Greek].

Boardman J. 1985: *Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period.* London.

Boardman J. 1987: "Silver is white", *RevArch*, pp. 279-295.

Boardman J. 1988: "Trade in Greek Decorated Pottery", *OxfJA* 7, p. 27-33

Boardman J. 1989: *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period,* London.

Boardman J. 1991: *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic*

Period, London.
Boardman J. 1995: *Greek Sculpture. The Late Classical Period,* London.
Bol P. C. (ed.) 2004: *Die Geschichte der antike Bildhauerkunst 2: Klassische Plastik*, *2 vols.*, Mainz.
Bommelaer J.-F. 1981: *Lysandre de Sparte. Histoire et traditions*, Paris.
Borg B. 2002: *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst*, Munich.
Bothmer D. v. 1984: *A Greek and Roman Treasury. MetMusBulletin* Summer 1984, New York.
Bouzek J., Ondřejova I. 1990: "The Rogozen Treasure and the Art of Triballoi", *Eirene* 27, pp. 81-91.
Bremmer J. 1991: "Orpheus: from Guru to Gay", in Borgeaud Ph. (ed.), *Orphisme et Orphée. En l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt,* Geneva, pp. 13-30.
Brijder H. A. G. 1988: "The Shapes of Etruscan Bronze Kantharoi from the Seventh Century B.C. and the Earliest Attic Black-Figured Kantharoi", *BABesch* 63, pp. 103-114.
Brommer F. 1979: "Theseus Deutungen I", *AA* 94, pp. 487-512.
Brommer F. 1980: "Plemochoe", *AA 95*, pp. 544-549.
Brommer F. 1982: *Theseus: Die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur,* Darmstadt.
Callataÿ F. de, 2006: "Réflexions quantitatives sur l'or et l'argent non monnayés à l'époque hellénistique (pompes, triomphes, réquisitions,fortunes des temples, orfèvrerie et masses métalliques disponibles)", in R. Descat et al. (eds.), *Entretiens sur l'économie antique de Saint-Bernard-de-Comminges*, Saint-Bernard-des-Comminges, p. 37–84.
Cancianni F. 1986: "Considerazioni sulla cronologia della ceramica attica dal tardo arcaism allo stile severo", in Bohr E., Martini W. (eds.), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei, Festschrift K. Schauenburg*, Mainz-am-Rhein, pp. 59-64.
Caskey L. D., Beazley J. D. 1931: *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts,* Boston.
Cipriani M., Longo F. (eds.), 1996: *I Greci in Occidente. Poseidonia e i Lucani*, Naples.
Cohen B. 1998: "Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture", in Koloski-Ostrow A. O., Lyons C. L. (eds.), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, London, pp. 66-92.
Colvicchi F. 2014: "Native Vase Shapes in South Italian Red Figure Pottery" in T. H. Carpenter, K. M. Lynch and E. G. D. Robinson (eds.), *The Italic people of ancient Apulia: new evidence from pottery for workshops, markets and customs*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 213-242.
Couchev D. 1956: "Der Goldschatz von Panagjurischte", in Svoboda B. and D. Couchev, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik*, Prague, pp. 115-172.
Cook B. 1987: "« Artful Crafts »: A Commentary", *JHS* 107, pp. 169-171.
Cradock P. T., Giumlia-Mair A. 1995: "*Hśmn-km*, Corinthian Bronze, Shakudo: Black-Patinated Bronze in the Ancient World", in Cradock P. T., La Niece S. (eds.), *Metal Plating and Patination*, Oxford, pp. 101-127.
Crome J. F. 1938: "Ein Kantharos des Teisias", *AA* 1938, col. 68-77.
Cullen Davison Cl. 2009: *Pheidias: the sculptures and ancient sources*, 3 vols., London.
D'Angour, A. J. 1999: "Archinus, Eucleides and the reform of the Athenian alphabet", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, pp. 109–130.
Daumas M. 1978: "L'amphore de Panaguriste et les Sept contre Thèbes", *AntK* 21, pp. 23-31.
Davie J. N. 1982: "Theseus the King of Fifth-Century Athens", *Greece and Rome, Second Series* 29, no. 1, pp. 25-34.
Degenkamp M. 2012: *Ceramic versus Metal. The impact of the 1980s debate on the value of pottery versus metal in today's museum*. MA thesis, University of Leiden.
Delemen I. 2004: *Tekirdag Naip Tumulusu*, Istanbul.
Demetriou D. 2014: "Review of Sears 2013", *Classical Philology* 109, no. 4 (October 2014), pp. 366-369.
Den Boer W. 1969: "Theseus: The Growth of a Myth in History", *Greece and Rome, Second Series*, 16, no. 1, pp. 1-13.

Descamps-Lequime S., Charatzopoulou K., 2011: *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Gand. La Macédoine antique.* Exhibition catalogue, Louvre, Paris.
Diamant S. 1982: "Theseus and the Unification of Attica", *Hesperia Supplements* 17, pp. 38-47.
Dimitrova D. 2008: "Yakimova mogyla (predvaritelno s'obshtenie)", in Dimitrova D. (ed.), *Po patia na minaloto. Shornik nauchni statii po povod 65-godishninata na d-r Georgi Kitov,* Sofia, pp. 221-225.
Dimitrova D. 2010: "Srebaren riton ot Dalakova mogila – element na tsarskoto ugoshtenie", in Georgieva R., Stoyanov T. et al. (eds.), *Yugoiztochna Bulgariya prez II-I hiliadoletie pr. Hr.*, [Silver rhyton fromDalakova Mogila: An element of the royal feast, in *Southeastern Bulgaria in the 2nd-1st millennium BC*], Varna, pp. 221-227.
Dimitrova D. 2015: *The Tomb of King Seuthes III in Golyamata Kosmatka Tumulus*, Sofia.
Dimitrova D., Tonkova M. 1992: "Rannoelinisticheska grobna nakhodka ot s. Resilovo, Stankedimitrovsko", *Godishnik na Narodniya Arkheologicheski Muzei* 8, pp. 133-143.
Drougou S., Touratsoglou I., 1997: "Πρώιμη ελληνιστική κεραμική από τη Μακεδονία. Ο πηλός και το μέταλλο", in *Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική, Μυτιλήνη, Μάριος 1994* (Athens), pp. 155-163
Dugas CH., Rhomaios C. 1952: *Les vases de Délos 5. Les vases attiques à figures rouges.* Délos 21, Paris.
Edmunds L. 2016: Stealing Helen. *The myth of the abducted wife in comparative perspective*, Princeton.
Felch J., Frammolino R. 2011: *Chasing Aphrodite: the hunt for looted antiquities at the world's richest museum*, Boston.
Fialko O. 2006: "Scythian material culture", *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis* 5.1, pp. 63-75.
Figueira Th. 1998: *The power of money: coinage and politics in the Athenian empire*, Philadelphia.
Filow B. 1931: "Die antike Steingrab von Dalboki, Regierungbezirk Stara Zagora", *BIABulg* 6, 1930/31, pp. 45-56.
Filow B. 1934: *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanli in Südbulgarien*, Sofia.
1934.
Filow B., 1937: "Les tombes à coupole de Mezek", *BIABulg* 9, pp. 1-116.
Fischer M. 2008: *The Prostitute and Her Headdress: the Mitra, Sakkos and Kekryphalos in Attic Red-figure Vase-painting ca. 550-450 BCE*, Phd thesis, University of Calgary.
Fol A. 1972: Polititseska istoriya na trakite. Kraya na vtoroto hiliadoletie do kraya na peti vek predi novata era, [Political hisory of the Thracians. End of the second milenium to the end of the 5th century BC], Sofia.
Fol A. 1975: Trakiya i Balkanite prez ranno-elinistitseskata epoha [Thrace and the Balkans during the early Hellneistic period], Sofia.
Fol A. et al. 1989: Fol A., Nikolov B., Mihailov G., Venedikov I., Marazov I. *The Rogozen Treasure*, Sofia.
Franken N. 2010: "Bunte Bronzen", in: V. Brinkmann, A. Scholl (eds.), *Bunte Götter. Die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur*, Exhibition catalogue Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, pp. 162–169, 249–251.
Gartland S. 2013: "The Electrum Coinage of Thebes", *NC* 173, pp.23-32.
Gikaki M. 2011: *Die weiblichen Frisuren auf den Münzen und in der Großplastik zur Zeit der Klassik und des Hellenismus. Typen und Ikonologie* (PhD dissertation, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg), Würzburg.
Gill D. W. J. 1986: "Classical Greek fictile imitations of precious metal", in Vickers M. (ed.), *Pots and pans. A colloquium on precious metals and ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Greco-Roman worlds, Oxford 1985*, Oxford, pp. 9-30.
Gill D. W. J. 1987: "Two New Silver Shapes From Semibratny (Seven Brothers' Tumuli)", *BSA* 82, pp. 47-50.
Gill D. W. J. 1988: "Expressions of wealth: Greek art and society", *Antiquity* 62, pp. 735-743.
Gill D. W. J. 2008: "Inscribed Silver Plate from Tomb II at Vergina. Chronological Implications", *Hesperia* 77, pp. 335-358.
Gill D. W. J., Vickers M. 1989: "Pots and Kettles", *RevArch*, pp. 297-303.

Ginev G. 1983: *Sakrovishteto ot Kralevo* [*The treasure from Kralevo*], Sofia.
Giumlia-Mair A., Rubinich M. (eds.) 2002: *Le arti di Efesto. Capolavori in metallo dalla Magna Grecia. Catalogo mostra Trieste, 8 marzo – 28 luglio 2002,* Trieste.
Gjerstad E. et al. 1937: *Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. II, Stockholm.
Gjødesen M. 1944: "Bronze Paterai with Anthropomorphus Handles", *ActaArch København* 15, pp. 101-187.
Gorbunova K. S. 1971: "Serebrianie kiliki s gravirovanimi izobrazheniami iz Semibratnikh kurganov", in *Kultura i iskusstvo antitchnogo mira v Ermitazh*, Leningrad ["Silver kylikes with engraved representations from the tumuli of Semibratni", in *Culture and art of the ancient world in Hermitage*, in Russian].
Gouščhin V. 1999: "Athenian Synoikism of the Fifth Century B.C., or Two Stories of Theseus", *Greece and Rome, Second Series* 46, no. 2, pp. 168-187.
Graff F. 1987: "Orpheus: A poet among men", in Bremmer J. (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London and Sidney, pp. 80-106.
Green P., Mackenzie S. R. 2009: *Criminology and archaeology: studies in looted antiquities*, Oxford.
Griffith J. G. 1974: "The siege scene on the gold amphora of the Panagjurischte Tresor", *JHS* 94, pp. 38-49.
Harris D. 1995: *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*, Oxford.
Harrison E. B. 1966: "The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *Hesperia* 35, pp. 107-33.
Harrison E. B. 1981: "Motifs of the City- Siege on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *AJA* 85, pp. 281-317.
Hartswick K. J. 1983: "The Lemnian Athena Reconsidered", *AJA* 87, pp. 335-346.
Heimberg U. 1982: *Die Keramik des Kabirions.* Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben III, Berlin.
Herrenschmidt Cl. 1995: "Writing-and some thoughts on Hebrew and Greek", in Bottero J., Herrenschmidt Cl., Vernant J.-P. (eds.), *Ancestors of the West. Writing, Reasoning, and Religion in Mesopotamia, Elam, and Greece*, Chicago and London, pp. 126-146.
Hill D. K. 1947: "The Technique of Greek Metal Vases and its Bearing on Vase Forms in Metal and Pottery", *AJA* 51, pp. 248-256.
Hill D. K. 1960: *Silverware from ancient banquets*, *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 12.
Hiller F. 1963: "Zwei verkannte Bronzeschalen aus Etrurien", *MarbWinckPr*, pp. 27-32.
Holloway R. R., Nabers N. 1980: "Le canthare d'argent de Roscigno (Monte Pruno, Salerne)", in Hackens T. (ed.), *Aurifex* 1, *Études sur l'orfèvrerie antique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, pp. 65-78.
Holloway R. R., Nabers N. 1982: "The princely burial of Roscigno (Monte Pruno), Salerno", *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 15, pp. 97-161.
Hornbostel W. 1973: *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, Leiden.
Hurter S., Mildenber G L. 1985: *The Arthur S. Dewing Collection of Greek Coins* (Ancient Coins in North American Collections), New York.
Hurwit J. M. 1995: "The Doryphoros: Looking Backward", in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition*, Madison, Wisconsin, pp. 3-18.
Hurwit J. M. 1999: *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*, Cambridge.
Ignatiadou D. 2012: "Pottery, metalware, and glassware", Drougou S., Touratsoglou I. (eds.), *Topics on Hellenistic pottery in Macedonia*, Athens, pp. 214-246.
Ivanov T. 1963: "Antichna keramika ot nekropola na Apolonia", in Venedikov I. et al., *Apolonia. Razkopkite v nekropola na Apolonia prez 1947-1949 godina*, Sofia, pp. 65-273.
Jantzen U. 1958: *Griechischen Griff-Phialen*, Winckelmannsprogramm 114, Berlin.
Johnston A. W. 1987: "Amasis and the Vase Trade", in Beloli A. P. A. (ed.), *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu, pp. 125-140.

Kacharava D., Kvirkvelia G. 2009: *Από τη χώρα του χρυσόμαλλου δέρατος: Θησαυροί της αρχαίας Κολχίδας,* Athens.
Kaltsas N. 2007 : Το *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Athens.
Kern J. H. C. 1964: "Two Late Boeotian kantharoi of the class of Athens Agora P3579 in Leyden", *BABesch* 39, pp. 122-125.
Kilinski K. K. I, 2005: "In Pursuit of the Boeotian Cantharus", *Ancient World* 36, pp. 176-212.
Kisyov K. 2005: *Thrace and Greece in Ancient Times. Part 1. Classical Age Tumuli in the Municipality of Kaloyanovo*. Plovdiv.
Kitov G. 2005: *The Valley of the Thracian Kings*, Varna.
Kotitsa Z. 2012: "Metal-coated Pottery from Macedonia in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period", in: Drougou S., Touratsoglou I. (eds.), *Topics on Hellenistic Pottery in Ancient Macedonia*, Athens, pp. 108-125.
Kottaridi A. 2013: *Aigai. The Royal Metropolis of the Macedonians,* Athens.
Kourinou-Pikoula E., 1994: "Sparte", *LIMC* 7, pp. 803-804.
Koutsoumpou M. (ed.) 2008: *Nostoi. Επαναπατρισθέντα αριστουργήματα. Μουσείο Ακροπόλεως 24-9 έως 31-12-2008,* Athens 2008 [Nostoi. Repatriated masterpieces. Acropolis Museum 24-9 to 31-12-2008, in Greek].
Ksenofontova I. B. 2005: *Serebryanaya fiala iz fondov Natsionalnogo muzeya Respubliki Adigeya.* Chetvertaya Kubanskaya arkheologicheskaya konferentsiya, Krasnodar.
Kunze E. 1958: *VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin.
La Coste-Messelière de, P. 1957: *Sculpture du Trésor des Athéniens*, Fouilles de Delphes 4.4, Paris.
La Follette L. A. 2013: *Negotiating culture: heritage, ownership, and intellectual property*, Amherst.
Lang M. 1976: *Graffiti and Dipinti. The Athenian Agora* XXI, Princeton.
Lapatin K. D. S. 2001: *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford.
Larson J. 2001: *Greek Nymphs. Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford.
Lavelle B. M. 1993: "The Pisistratids and the Mines of Thrace", *GRBS 33*, pp. 5-23.
Lazarov M. 2003: *Drevnogratskata risouvana keramika ot Balgaria*, Varna [Anicent Greek painted pottery from Bulgaria]
Le Rider G., Callataÿ F. de, 2006: *Les Séleucides et les Ptolémées: L'héritage monétaire et financier d'Alexandre le Grand,* Paris.
Lee M. M. 2015: *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge and New York.
Leskov A. M. 1985: *Sokrovisha kurganov Adygei. Katalog vystavki*, Moscow.
Lewis D. M. 1986: "Temple Inventories in Ancient Greece", in Vickers M., ed., *Pots and Pans. Proceedings of the Colloquium on Precious Metal and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Graeco-Roman Worlds,* Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 3, Oxford, pp. 71-81.
Lezzi-Hafter A. 1976: *Der Schwalow-Maler*, Mainz am Rhein.
Lezzi-Hafter, A. 1988: *Der Eretria-Maler, Werke und Weggefährten*, Mainz am Rhein.
Lissarrague F. 1999: "Publicity and performance. Kalos inscriptions in Attic vase-painting" in Goldhill S., Osborne R. (eds.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, pp. 359-373.
Lorber C. 2008: "Weight standards of Thracian toreutics and Thraco-Macedonian coinage", *RBN* 154, pp. 1-29.
Lordkipanidze O. 1974: "La Géorgie et le monde grec", *BCH* 98, pp. 897-948.
Lullies R. 1940: "Zur boiotisch rotfigurigen Vasenmalerai", *AthMit* 65, pp. 1-27.
Luschey H. 1939: *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode.
Maksimova M. I. 1979: *Artioukhovski Kourgan*, Leningrad.
Malberg V. 1894: *Antiquités du tumulus Karagodeuachkh. Monuments de l'art grec et greco-barbare trouvés dans le tumulus Karagodeuachkh.* Matériaux sur l'archéologie de Russie publiés par la Commission Archéologique Impérial 13, St. Petersburg.
Manchevits A. P. 1980: "Kanfar iz kourgana Solokha (K vaprosou o frakiiskikh tsentrakh tore-

vtiki)" in *Pulpudeva* 3, 1978 (1980), pp. 61-72.
Manchevits A. 1987: *Kourgan Solokha*, Leningrad.
Mannack Th. 2001, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-painting*, Oxford.
Marangou L. I. et al. 1995: *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos,* Athens.
Marazov I. 2009: "Riton s glava na oven ot Dalakova mogila", *Izvestiya na muzeite v Yugoistochna Bulgaria* 14, pp. 20-61.
Marazov I. (ed.) 1998: *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians. Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*, New York.
Marazov I. 2011: *Thrace and the Ancient World. Vassil Bojkov Collection*, Sofia.
Marazov I. 2013: Catalogue entries in Zhuravliev D. V. and K. B. Firsov (eds.), *Frakiiskoe Zoloto iz Bolgarii. Ozhivshie Legendi [Thracian Gold from Bulgaria. The Legends Become Alive]*, Moscow.
Marazov I. 2013a: "Orfei i v Trakiya", in Rbadjiev K., Popov H., Damyanov M. and Katsarova V. (eds.), *Sbornik v pamet na akademik D. P. Dimitrov*, Sofia, pp. 218-226 ["Orpheus in Thrace as well" in *Studies in Memory of Academician D. P. Dimitrov*].
Marinov Tch. 2015: "Ancient Thrace in the Modern Imagination", in Daskalov R., Vezenkov A. (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans III. Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies.* Balkan Studies Library 9, Leiden, pp. 10-117.
Martinez et al. 2015: Martinez J.-L., Baralis A., Mathieux N., Stoyanov T., Tonkova M. (eds.), *L'épopée des rois thraces des guerres médiques aux invasions celtes 479-278 av. J.-C. Découvertes archéologiques en Bulgarie.* Exhibition in the Louvre, Paris.
Matheson S. B. 1995: *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens,* Madison, Wisconsin.
Melikian Chirvani A. S. 1993: "The International Achaemenid Style", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7, pp. 111-130.
Mer Egée 1979: *MerEgée – Grèce des Iles.* Exhibition catalogue, Louvre, Paris.
Merrit B. D., Wade-Gery H. T., Mcgregor M. F. 1950: *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 3, Princeton NJ.
Messerschmidt W. 2003: *Prosopopoiia. Personifikationen politischen Charakters in spätklassischer und hellenistischer Kunst*, Cologne.
Mikalson J. D. 2010: *Ancient Greek Religion*. Second edition. Malden MA and Oxford.
Miller M. C. 1993: "Adoption and Adaptation of Achaemenid Metalware Forms in Attic Black-Gloss Ware of the Fifth Century", *AMIran* 26, pp. 109-146.
Moon W. G., Berger L. 1979: *Greek Vase-painting in Midwestern Collections* Chicago.
Mitchell-Boyask R. 2007: *Plague and the Athenian Imagination: Drama, History, and the Cult of Asclepius*, Cambridge.
Morris S. P. 1995: *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art,* Princeton.
Mparakari-Gleni K. 1984: "Ανασκαφή τάφων στο Άργος", *ArchDelt* 39 A 1984 (1990), p. 182.
Mylonopoulos I. 2013: Review of Smith 2011, *Kernos* 26, pp. 391-396
Nankov E. 2010: "Why one needs 'The odd man out'? The Deer Hunter with Lagobolon from the Frescoes in the Thracian Tomb near Alexandrovo", *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 14, pp. 35-55.
Neils J. 2015: "The Shield of the Athena Parthenos: A New Reconstruction", lecture on February 26, 2015 at The Institute of Fine Arts, New York.
Luri G., Costa A., Fol V. (eds.): *Los Tracios. Tesoros enigmaticos de Bulgaria*, Barcelona
Nuber H. U. 1972: "Kanne und Grieffschale: Ihr Gebrauch im täglichen Leben und die Beigaben in Gräbern der römischen Kaisertzeit", *BerRGK* 53.1, pp. 1-232.
O'Neill J. P. (ed.), 1979: *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands. An Exhibition*, New York.
Ognenova L. 1952: "Opit za rekonstruktsiya na dva shtita ot Trakiya", *Izvestiya na Arkheologicheskii Institut* 18, pp. 61-80.
Oliver A. J. 1977: *Silver for the Gods. 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver*. Exhibition catalogue, Toledo, Ohio.
Olmos R., *sine datum*: *Vasos Griegos, Coleccion Condes de Lagunillas*, Zürich.
Onaiko N. A. 1970: *Antichnii import v Pridneprovie i Pobouzhie v 4. – 2. vv. do n. e.* Svod arkhe-

ologicheskikh istochnikov, Arkheologiya SSSR D I-27, Moscou.
Özgen İ., Öztürk J., 1996: *Heritage Recovered. The Lydian Treasure*, Istanbul.
Palagia O. 1987: "Ερύθημα... αντί κράνους. In Defense of Furtwängler's Athena Lemnia", *AJA* 91, pp. 81–84.
Paunov E. I. 2013: *From Koine to Romanitas: The numismatic evidence for Roman Expansion and settlement in Bulgaria in Antiquity (Moesia and Thrace, ca 146 BC – AD 98/117),* PhD dissertation, Cardiff University.
Paxson J. 1994: *The Poetics of Personification*, Cambridge.
Pellegrini E. 2009: *Eros nella Grecia arcaica e classica, iconografia e iconologia*, Rome.
Pharmakowski B. 1910, "Russland, Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1909", *AA*, cols. 195-224.
Pharmakowski B. 1913, "Russland, Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1912", *AA*, cols. 178-234.
Picard Ch. 1948: *Manuel d'archéologie grecque III*, Paris.
Picard O. 2007 : "Esquisse d'une histoire des rapports économiques entre Grecs et Thraces", *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Thracogolgy, Komotini – Alexandroupoli 18-23 October 2005,* Athens 2005, pp. 464-473.
Platt V. J. 2011: *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*, Cambridge and New York.
Pollit J. J. 1972: *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, New York.
Popova R. 2015: "Kam fiala 71 ot grobnitsa no 2, Mogilanska mogila", in *Apogeum of the Triballian dynastic house. A conference on the 50th jubilee since the discovery of the Mogilanska tumulus in Vratsa. Vratsa 12-13 November 2015,* forthcoming [On the phiale 71 from the grave 2, Mogilanska tumulus, in Bulgarian].
Porozhanov K. 2011: *The Odrysian Kingdom, the Poleis along its Coasts and Athens from the End of the 6th Century until 341 BC*. Studia Thracica 14, Blagoevgrad.
Protzmann, H. 1987: "Antiquarische Nachlese zu den Statuen der sogenannten Lemnia Furtwänglers in Dresden", *Jahrbuch der Staatllchen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 16 1984 (1987), pp. 7-22.
Psoma S. 2002: "Le monnayage de Sparadokos des Odryses. Un état de la question", in *Thrace and the Aegean.* Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Thracology, Sofia - Yambol, 25-29 September 2000, volume 2, Sofia, 2002, pp. 513-522.
Rabadjiev K. 1995: "Heracles Psychopompos (?) in Thrace (An Attempt to Superinterpretation)", *Studia in Honorem Alexandri Fol. Thracia* 11, pp. 419-426.
Rabadjiev K. 1996: "Herakles i Hipolita. Kam interpretatsiyata na kanichka No 154 ot Rogozenskoto sakrovishte", *ArheologiyaSof* 38, pp. 64-72.
Rabadjiev K. 1997: "Herakloviyat obraz vrhu zlatnite sadove ot Panagyurskoto sakrovishte", *Problemi na Izkustvoto* 30A, 3/4, pp. 71-74.
Rabadjiev K. 2001: "Herakles, Diomedes and Thrace", *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 5.3, pp. 9-21.
Rabadjiev K. 2005: "Orfei v izobrazitelni pametnici ot Trakiya", in Stoyanov T., Tonkova M., Preslenov Chr. and Chr. Popov (eds.), *Heros Hephaistos. Studia in Honorem Liubae Ognenova-Marinova*, Sofia, pp. 72-79 [The image of Orpheus in Thrace].
Reho M. 2005: "Céramique attique à figures noires et rouges", in Karayotov I. (ed.), *Nessebre III. In memoriam Jeannae Čimbuleva*, Burgas, pp. 30-50.
Richter G. M. A. 1937. "A Greek Bronze Hydria", *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 32(11), pp. 255-9.
Richter G. M. A. 1966: *The Furniture of the Greeks Etruscans and Romans*, London.
Ridgway B. S. 1990: *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 BC*, Madison, Wisconsin..
Robertson M. 1985: "Beazley and Attic Vase Painting", in Kurtz D. ed., *Beazley and Oxford: Lectures delivered in Wolfson College, 28 June 1985*, Oxford, pp. 19-30.
Robertson M. 1992: *The art of vase-painting in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
Roessel D. 1989: "The stag on Circe's island: An exegesis of a Homeric digression", *TAPA* 119,

pp. 31-36.
Rolley Cl. 1972, "Composition et tracés régulateurs dans les coupes attiques", *RevArch* 1972, pp. 151-162.
Rolley Cl. et al. 1975: Vatin Cl. Bruneau Ph., Rolley Cl., Hackens T., *Médéon de Phocide V*, Paris.
Rolley Cl. 1987: "Deux notes de chronologie celtique", *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, 38, pp. 415-419.
Rolley Cl. 1994: *La Sculpture Grecque 1. Des origines au milieu du Ve siècle*, Paris.
Rolley Cl.1995: Review of Vickers - Gill 1994, *Topoi* 5, 517-522.
Rolley Cl. 1999: *La Sculpture Grecque 2. La période classique,* Paris.
Romiopoulou K. 1989: "Κλειστά ταφικά σύνολα Υστεροκλασσικών χρόνων από τη Θεσσαλονίκη", in *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν*, vol. 3, Athens, pp. 194-218.
Rotroff S. I. 1997: *Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material.* The Athenian Agora XXIX, Princeton.
Rouillard P. 1991: *Les Grecs et la péninsule ibérique du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.*, Paris.
Rufin Solas A. 2013: "L'or et l'argent des aristocraties thraces. Contribution de l'étude des trésors contenant des vases en métal précieux à l'histoire de la région aux IVe et IIIe s. avant J.-C.", in A. Rufin Solas, M.-G. Parissaki, E. Kosmidou (eds.), *Armées grecques et romaines dans le nord des Balkans. Conflits et intégration des communautés guerrières*. *Akanthina* 7, Gdańsk-Toruń, pp. 29-50.
Saatsoglou-Palliadeli Chr. 2011: "The royal presence in the Agora of Aegae", in *Heracles to Alexander the Great. Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy*, Oxford, pp. 193-203.
Savopoulou Th. 1998: "Ευρωπός 1995", *AEMTh* 9, 1995 (1998), pp. 395-404.
Scarre Chr., Scarre G. 2006: *The ethics of archaeology: philosophical perspectives on archaeological practice*, Cambridge and New York.
Schefold K., Jung F. 1988: *Die Urkönige. Perseus, Bellerephon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.
Schilzt V. (ed.) 1987: *L'or des cavaliers thraces. Trésors de Bulgarie,* Montréal exhibition, May 4 – October 30, 1987, Montréal.
Schmandt-Besserat D. (ed.), 1980: *Ancient Persia. The Art of an Empire*, Malibu.
Schoeller F. 1969: *Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike*, Freiburg.
Schwarzmeier A. 1997: *Griechische Klappspiegel: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil*. Ath-Mitt Beiheft 18, Berlin.
Scodel R. 1994: "Odysseus and the stag", *CQ* 44, pp. 530-534.
Sears M. A. 2013: *Athens, Thrace, and the Shaping of Athenian Leadership*, Cambridge – New York.
Seure G. 1904 : "Un char thraco-macédonien", *BCH* 28, pp. 222-226.
Sevinç N., Treister M. Y. 2003: "Metalwork from the Dardanos Tumulus", *Studia Troica* 13, pp. 215-260
Shalganova T. 2010: "ΣΚΥ v sadovete ot drevna Trakiya", *Mif* 15, pp. 77-91.
Shapiro H. A. 1988: "The Marathonian Bull on the Athenian Acropolis", *AJA* 92, pp. 373-382.
Shapiro H. A. 1992: "Theseus in Kimonian Athens: The Iconography of Empire", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7, no. 1, pp. 29-49.
Shapiro A. H.1993; *Personifications in Greek art. The representation of abstract concepts 600 - 400 B.C.*, Zurich.
Shapiro H. A. 1994: *Myth into Art. Poet and Painter in Classical Athens*, London.
Shapiro A. 1995: *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989, supplement published 1995.
Shapiro H. A. 2009: "Topographies of Cult and Athenian Civic Identity on Two Masterpieces of Attic Red-Figure", in Oakley J. H. and Palagia O. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters.* Volume II, Oxford, pp. 261-269.
Shefton B. B. 1989: "The Auge Bowl: in Cook B. F. ed., *The Rogozen Treasure, Papers of the Anglo-Bulgarian Conference, 12 March 1987*, London 1989, pp. 82-90.

Shkorpil K. V. 1931: "Arheologicheski belezhki ot Chernomorskoto kraibrezhie" *BIABulg* 6, 1930/31, pp. 57-88
Sideris A. 1995 : *Les vases à boire en métal dans le monde grec aux 6e, 5e et 4e siècles av. J.-C.*, PhD thesis, Université de Bourgogne, Dijon.
Sideris A. 2000: "Les tombes de Derveni: quelques remarques sur la toreutique", *RevArch*, σελ. 3-36.
Sideris A. 2002: "Bronze drinking vases bearing dedicatory inscriptions", *Eirene* 38, σελ. 167-201.
Sideris A. 2008: "Achaemenid toreutics in the Greek periphery", in Darbandi M. R. and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters. First international Conference, Athens 11-13 November 2006*, Athens (2008), pp. 339-353.
Sideris A. 2011: "Προσωπεία της τορευτικής στη Μακεδονία", in Valavanis P. (ed.), *Ταξιδεύοντας στην κλασική Ελλάδα. Τόμος προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Πέτρου Θέμελη*, Athens, pp. 283-313.
Simon E. 1959: *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin.
Smith R.R.R. 2007: "Pindar, Athletes, and the Statue Habit", in: S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals* (Oxford 2007) pp. 83–139
Smith A. C. 2011: Polis *and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*, (*Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 19) Leiden and Boston.
Sowder A. A. 2009: *Greek bronze hydriai*, PhD thesis, Emory University, Atlanta.
Sparkes B. A.1977: "Quintain and the Talcott class" *AntK* 20, pp. 8-16.
Sparkes B. A., Talcott L. 1970: *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC.* The Athenian Agora XII, Princeton.
Stafford E. 2000: *Worshipping virtues. Personification and the divine in ancient Greece*, London.
Stafford E. (ed.) 2005: *Personification in the Greek world. From antiquity to byzantium*, Aldershot.
Stambolides N. 1987: "Το σύμπλεγμα αρ. 257 του Ε.Μ. και οι πλατωνικοί Σιληνοί: μια ακόμα προσέγγιση στην «προσωπογραφία» του Σωκράτη", *Archaiognosia* 3, pp. 123-161.
Stansbury-O'Donnell M. 2011: *Looking at Greek Art*, Cambridge and New York.
Stewart A. 1990: *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, New Haven.
Stewart A. 1993: *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics*. Hellenistic Culture and Society vol. 11, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Stewart A. 1997: *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
Stewart A. 2012: "Hellenistic Free-standing Sculpture from the Athenian Agora. Part 1, Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81, pp. 267-342.
Stoyanov T. 2003: "Za proiskhoda na fialite s antropomorfna plastichna dekoratsia", in *Sbornik v pamet dr. P. Gorbanov*, Studia Archaeologica suppl. 1, Sofia, pp. 87-104 [On the origin of the phiale with anthropomorphic relief decoration, in *Collective volume on the memory of dr. P. Gorbanov*].
Strocka V. M. 1984: "Das Schildrelief-Zum Stand der Forschung", in Berger E. (ed.), *Parthenon-Kongress Basel: Referate und Berichte, 4. bis 8. April 1982*, Mainz am Rhein 1984, pp, 188-196.
Strong D. E. 1964: "A Greek Silver Head-Vase", *British Museum Quarterly* 28, pp. 95-102.
Strong D. E. 1966: *Greek and Roman gold and silver plate*, London.
Swan Hall E. (ed.) 1987: *Christos G. Bastis Collection*, Mainz.
Tanner J. 2006: *The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
Tarn Steiner D. 2001: *Images in mind: statues in archaic and classical Greek literature and thought*, Princeton and Oxford.
Taylor M. C. 2014: "Review of Sears 2013", *CJ-Online*, 2014.05.01.
Themelis P., Touratsoglou Y. 1998: *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενιού*, Athens.
Thompson D. B. 1939: "Mater celaturae. Impressions from ancient metalwork", *Hesperia* 8, pp. 285-316.
Tonkova M. 2010: "Les parures d'harnachement en or de Thrace et l'orfèvrerie de la haute époque Hellénistique", *Bollettino di Archeologia* on line I 2010, special volume C / C10 / 4, pp. 44-63.
Topalov S. 1994: *Odriskoto carstvo ot kraya*

na V do sredata na IV v. pr. NE: prinosi kam prouchvane na monetosecheneto i istoriyata mu, Sofia [*The Odrysian kingdom from the late 5th to the mid-4th c. BC: contributions to the study of its coinage and history*].
Torbov N. 2005: *Mogilanskata mogila vav Vratsa*, Vratsa [Mogilanska tumulus in Vratsa].
Touloumtzidou A. 2011: *Μετάλλινα αγγεία του 4ου – 2ου αι. π.Χ. από τον Ελλαδικό χώρο* (PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki.
Treister M. Y. 2003: "Metal vessels from Zelenskaya Gora Barrow and related finds from Kargodeuashkh", *Ancient West and East* 2.1, pp. 51-77.
Treister M. Y. 2007: "The Toreutics of Colchis in the 5th-4th Centuries BC. Local Traditions, Outside Influences, Innovations", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 13, pp. 67-107.
Treister M. Y. 2009: "Silver Phialai from the Prokhorovka Burial-mount No. 1", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 15, pp. 95-135.
Treister M. Y. 2009a: "Serebryanie sosudi iz tainika Chmirevoi Mogili", *Drevnosti Bospora* 13, pp. 414-460 [Silver Vessels from the Cache of Chmyreva Mogila]
Treister M. Y. 2010: "'Achaemenid' and 'Achaemenid-inspired' Goldware and Silverware, Jewellery and Arms and their Imitations to the North of the Achaemenid Empire", in J. Nieling, E. Rehm (eds.), *Achaemenid Impacts in the Black Sea: Communication of Power*, Black Sea Studies 11, Aarhus, pp. 223-279.
Treister et al. 2012: Treister M. Y., Shemakhanskaya Sh. and L. T. Yablonsky, "Komplexi s predmetami akhemenidskogo kruga mogylnika Filippovka-I", in Treister M. and L. Yablonsky (eds.), *Einflüsse der achämenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland (5.-3. Jh. v. Chr.),* vol. 2, Moscow, pp. 84-156.
Trendall A. D. 1989: *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London.
Triantafyllos D. 1975: "Ἄρζος", *ArchDelt* 30 B 1975 (1979), pp. 202-203.
Trofimova A. (ed.) 2007: *Greeks on Black Sea. Ancient Art from the Hermitage,* Los Angeles.
Tsiafaki D. 1998: *Η Θράκη στην αττική εικονογραφία του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. Προσεγγίσεις στις σχέσεις Αθήνας και Θράκης*, Komotini.
Tsiafakis D. 2015: "Thracian Tattoos", in Boschung D., Shapiro A., Waschek F. (eds.), *Bodies in Transition. Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*, Paderborn, pp. 89-117.
Ure A. D. 1962: "Boiotian Pottery from the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia* 31, pp. 369-377.
Van der Grinten E. F. 1966: *On the composition of the medallions in the interiors of Greek black- and red-figured kylikes*, Amsterdam.
Velkov I. 1926: "Antichni pametinici iz Balgariy", *Godishnik na Narodniya Muzei za 1922-1925*, 4, pp. 127-159.
Velkov I. 1930: "Mogilni grobni nakhodki ot Douvanli", *BIABulg* 6 (1930-31), pp. 1-44.
Venedikov I., Gerasimov B. 1975: *Thracian art*, Sofia.
Vickers M. 1979: *Scythian Treasures in Oxford*, Oxford.
Vickers M. 1983: "Les vases peints: image ou mirage?", in F. Lissarague, F. Thelamon (eds.), *Image et Céramique grecque, Actes du Colloque de Rouen 25-26 novembre 1982*, Rouen, pp. 29-41.
Vickers M. 1985: Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery, *JHS* 105, pp. 108-128.
Vickers M. 1986: Vickers M., Impey O. and J. Allan, *From silver to ceramic. The potter's debt to metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds*, Oxford.
Vickers M. 1990: "Golden Greece: relative values, minae and temple inventories", *AJA* 94, pp. 613-25.
Vickers 1991; "Persian, Thracian and Greek gold and silver: questions of metrology", in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 6. *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, Leiden, pp. 31-9.
Vickers M. 1992: "The metrology of gold and silver plate in Classical Greece", *Boreas* (Uppsala) 21, pp. 53-71.
Vickers M. 1995: "Surface colour transfer from metal, ivory and stone to ceramic and glass", in *Materials Issues in Art and Archaeology* 4, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, pp. 189-99.

Vickers 1995a; "Metrological reflections: Attic, Hellenistic, Parthian and Sasanian gold and silver plate", *Studia Iranica* 24, pp. 163-85.
Vickers M. 1998: *Skeuomorphismus oder die Kunst, aus wenig viel zu machen*, Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme 16, Mainz.
Vickers M. 2002: *Scythian and Thracian antiquities in Oxford*, Oxford.
Vickers M. 2004: "Materialwerte gestern und heute - eine kleine Geschichte über den Stellenwert griechischer Keramik", *Antike Welt* 35, pp. 63-9.
Vickers M. 2010: "Silver, horses and pots", in D. Metzler (ed.), *Massadifiori. Essays presented to Herbert Hoffmann on his 80th birthday,* Wiesbaden, pp. 351-67.
Vickers M., forthcoming: "Skeuomorphism in ancient Greece: a cost analysis", in C. Tsoraki, S. Sherratt, R. Doonan (eds.), *Material Worlds of the Aegean*, Oxford (forthcoming).
Vickers M., Gill D. W. J. 1990: Reflected Glory: Pottery and Precious Metal in Classical Greece, *JdI* 105, pp. 1-30
Vickers M., Gill D. 1994: *Artful crafts. Ancient Greek silverware and pottery,* Oxford.
Vlassopoulos K. 2013: *Greeks and Barbarians*, Cambridge - New York.
Vlassopoulos K. 2013a: "Review of Sears 2013", *BMCR* 2013.09.51.
Vulić N. 1933: "Neue Gräber bei Trebenischte", *AA* 1930, pp. 276-279.
Walker H. J. 1995: *Theseus and Athens*, Oxford - New York.
Weber T. 1983: *Bronzekannen: Studien zu ausgewählten archaischen und klassischen Oinochoenforme, aus Metal in Griechenland und Etrurien,* Frankfurt a.M.
Webster T. B. L. 1939: "Tondo compositions in Archaic and Classical Greek art", *JHS* 59, pp. 103-123.
Weidig J. 2007: "Elelmenti Piceni nelle tombe archaiche di Bazzano (AQ)", *Archeologia di Frontiera*, pp. 55-65.
Williams D. 1991: "The invention of the Red-Figure Technique and the Race between Vase-Painting and Free Painting", in Rasmusen T., Spivey N. J. (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge pp. 103-131.
Wickkiser B. L. 2008: *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece. Between Craft and Cult*, Baltimore.
Williams D. 1996: "Refiguring Attic Red-figure", *RevArch*, pp. 227-252.
Youroukova I. 1992: *Monetite na trakiiskite plemena i vladeteli*, vol. 1, Sofia.
Youroukova Y. 1997: "The amphora of the Panagyurishte treasure and the coinage in the first half of the fourth century BC", *Archaeology in Bulgaria* 1.1, pp. 60-66.
Zadoks-Josephus Jitta A. N. 1986: "From Southern Italy to the Northern Netherlands", in Brijder H. A. G., Drukker A. A. and C. W. Neeft (eds.), *Enthousiasmos. Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J. M. Hemelrijk*, Amsterdam, pp. 189-192.
Zahrnt M. 2015: "Early History of Thrace to the Murder of Kotys 1 (360 BCE)", in Valeva J., Nankov E., Graninger D. (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Oxford – Malden, pp. 35-47.
Zimmermann N. 1997: *Beziehungen zwischen Ton- und Metalgeffässen spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Zeit* (PhD thesis, Universität Marburg - published under the same title, Rahden 1998).
Zournatzi A. 2010: "The Vouni Treasure and monetary practices in Cyprus in the Persian period", in Liampi K., Plantzos D. (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference Coinage/Jewellery. Uses-Interactions-Symbolisms, from Antiquity to the Present (Ios, 26-28 June 2009)*, *KERMA*, Athens, pre-publication (pp. 1-18).
Züchner W. 1938: *Der Mänaden-Krater, Berliner WinckProg* 98 (Berlin 1938).
Zymi E.1997: *Late Classical and Hellenistic Silver Plate from Macedonia* (PhD thesis, University – published under the same title, Oxford 2011).
Zymi E., Sideris A. 2003: "Χάλκινα σκεύη από το Γαλαξείδι. Πρώτη προσέγγιση", in Themelis P., Koumari-Stathaki R. (eds.), *Το Γαλαξείδι από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα. Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, 29-30 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000,* Athens, pp. 35-60

9.
INDEX

Abdera: 78, 80-81.
Academus / Academy: 40.
Acastus: 16.
Achaemenid amphora-rhyton: 44-45.
Achilles painter: 26, 63.
Achilles: 16, 42, 63.
Acropolis: 19-20, 43, 78.
    Erechtheion: 78.
    Hecatompedon: 78
    Parthenon: 29-30, 37, 43, 63, 65, 69, 78, 83.
    Propylaea: 39.
Aegae Agora: 77.
Aegospotami: 51, 82.
Aenos: 80.
Aeolian tribe: 13
Aeolus: 13, 73.
Agre Daniela: 44.
Aison, vase painter: 20, 27, 62.
Alcamenes (*Hermes Propylaios*): 39.
Alcibiades: 81-82.
Alexander group (Attic pottery): 24.
Alexander I of Macedon: 80.
Alexander III of Macedon: 26.
alopeke: 43, 64, 65, 68.
Amazons: 38, 42-43, 47, 50, 63.
    Ephesian Amazons: 27, 29, 38.
    Amazonomachy: 42-43, 71.
Amphipolis: 77, 81.
Andromacha: 50.
anti-Athenian alliance: 51-52.
Antiope: 43.
Antiquity: 12, 68, 79.
Apharides (Idas & Lynceus): 39.
Aphidnae: 40.
Aphrodite: 14, 22-23, 29-30, 38, 52, 66, 69.
    Aphrodite Doria Pamphyli: 29.
    Venus Paris-Naples: 29.
Aphytis, Chalcidice: 28.
Apobatic race: 42, 62-63, 77-78, 81.
Apollonia Pontica: 14.
Apulian: 50 and 56 (kantharoi), 53 (crater).
Arethusa: 29 (coin), 52 (cups).
Argos: 46.
Ariadne: 20, 22-23, 29-30, 60-61.
Ariapithes, Scythian dynast: 81.
Artemis: 16, 45, 47, 67.
Arzos, Thrace: 55.
Asclepios: 28.
Asia Minor: 51, 76.
Asparuhovo, Varna: 14.
Athanaion: 65.
Athena: 19, 22-23, 27-30.
    Lemnia: 27.
    Parthenos: 27, 43, 62, 82.
    Palladion: 30.
Athenaeus: 55.
Athenian Agora: 75.
Athenian art: 19, 28, 40.
Athenian Colonial group: 44, 58, 71, 77-78.
Athenian diplomacy: 12, 80-82.
Athenian hegemony: 80-81.
Athenian Kerameikos: 60.
Athenian silverware: 11-13, 56, 60, 81, 83.
Athenian state ideology: 30, 77, 83.
Athenian toreutics: 11, 27 44, 55, 60, 67, 78, 80, 82-83.
Athenian Tribute Lists: 80.
Athenian visual culture / imagery: 39, 44, 73.
Athens: 16, 19, 21-22, 28-29, 32, 44, 46, 56, 58-60, 64, 71, 73, 76-77, 82-83.
Attic / Athenian pottery: 13, 19, 23-24, 32, 36, 44-46, 56, 58-59, 64, 71, 73, 76-77, 83.
    black glaze: 17, 50 (Boeotian), 73, 76.
    black figure: 17, 46, 57.
    red figure: 14, 16, 23, 27, 32, 40, 50-51, 57-58, 73, 76.
Attic drachmae: 17, 36, 41, 80.
Attic grave stelae: 29, 67 (*Ampharete, Hegeso*).
Attica: 14, 19, 42, 63.
Auge plate: 19, 47.
Axios River: 81.
Balkan kantharoi: 24.
Balkans: 12, 68.
Bassae: 45.
Bastis Collection: 12, 55.

Bazzano: 25.
Bellerephon: 13, 42, 52, 61-62, 75, 77-78, 80.
    Pegasus: 13, 61, 77.
    Chimera: 13, 61-62, 77.
Beloi River: 70.
Benaki Museum: 12.
Bérard Claude: 47.
Bisanthe: 81.
Black Sea: 65, 70, 80.
Blond boy: 30.
Boardman John: 57, 59.
Boeotian pottery: 23, 36, 50.
Boeotian tribe: 13
Boethus: 30.
Boreas: 11.
Boule: 28.
Brasidas: 78, 81.
British Museum: 19-20, 31, 53.
Budini (people near Caspian Sea): 68.
Bulgarian museums: 11.
Bulgarian research: 12.
Byzantium: 81.
Cabeiri: 11, 39.
    Kabeirion of Samothrace: 38.
Calenian pottery: 52, 57.
Calydonian boar: 14.
Canellopoulos Museum: 12.
Cardia: 81.
Centaurs: 11, 45, 63.
Ceryneian hind: 16, 45.
Chairestratos: 24.
Chalcidice: 80-81.
chelys – lyre: 38, 41, 71.
cherniva 55.
Chernozem: 13, 61, 75.
Chersonese: 79.
Chmyreva tumulus, South Russia: 42, 50, 70, 73.
Chios: 29.
chiton : 17, 23, 29, 38, 43-44, 61, 64-66, 69, 71-72.
chlamys : 31-32, 44-45, 62, 64-67, 71.
Cicero: 27.
Circe: 16.
Codrus painter: 14, 16, 20, 27, 44, 66.
Cohen Beth: 38.
contrapposto 26.
Cook Robert: 57.
Copenhagen: 29.
Corcyra: 28.
Corinth / Korinthos personification: 28.
Corinthian bronze: 43 (helmet), 57 (mirrors).
Corinthian workshops: 26, 57 (Corinthium aes), 70.
Crete: 30.
Croton: 52.
Cycladic Art Museum: 12.
Cycle cups: 19, 32.
Cyzicus: 29, 52.
Dablagomi, Georgia: 54.
Dalakova tumulus: 14.
Dalboki: 62, 75.
Decelea: 40.
Delian / Athenian League: 80-81.
Delos: 80.
Delphi
    Lesche of Knidians: 68.
    Treasure of Athenians: 19.
Demos: 28-29.
Derveni, Macedonia: 55.
Dinos painter: 27.
Diomedes Thracian king: 13, 32. Greek hero: 26, 31.
Dion: 39.
Dionysus & *thiasos*: 11, 29, 61, 77-78.
    Dionysian scene: 24, 70, 75, 83.
    thiasos: 11, 61, 70.
    Maenads: 38, 61, 70.
    Satyrs: 61, 70, 76.
    Silenoi: 32 37, 50, 55, 75.
Dioscures: 11, 14, 39-40.
Dolna Koznitsa tumulus, Kyustendil: 47.
Dorian ancestors: 40.
Duvnali
    Bashova tumulus: 14, 42, 62-63, 75.
    Goliamata tumulus: 25, 30, 36, 66, 74.
    Mushovitsa tumulus: 17.
Edonians: 80-81.
Egypt: 14.
Electra: 69.
Eleusinian goddesses: 14.
Eleusis: 27, 29.
emigrant artists: 77.
Eminacus: 70.
Ennea Hodoi: 80-81.
Epidaurus: 28.

Eretria painter: 27, 29.
Eros: 11, 23, 29-30, 52, 66.
Etruscan kantharoi: 23.
Etruscans: 77.
Euaion painter: 61.
Eucleides reform: 66.
Eupolis (*Cities*): 29.
Euripides: 40, 66 (*Helen*), 73 (*Melanippe*).
Euristheus: 19.
Europe: 79.
Europos, Macedonia: 50.
Eyxitheos: 30.
Filow B.: 48, 62.
Fine Arts Museum, Boston: 51.
Fleischmann Collection: 12.
Furtwängler Adolf: 27.
Galaxidi: 52.
Ganos, Propontis: 55.
Gill David: 57, 59, 76.
Glytptothek Muncih: 26.
Goliamata Kosmatka tumulus, Shipka: 55.
Goliamata tumulus, Malomirovo - Zlatinitsa: 14, 44.
Gorgo / Gorgoneion: 11, 52, 63.
Graff Fritz: 39.
Great King: 80.
Greco-Thracian relations: 11, 79.
Greek heroes: 11, 16-17, 20, 28, 42-43, 45, 77, 83.
Greek scholarship: 12.
Griffins: 11, 63.
Gurlo, Pernik district: 46.
gynaikeion: 44, 71.
Hebros River: 80.
Hebryzelmis: 28.
Hegesipyle: 79.
Helen: 13-14, 29, 32, 40, 65-66, 69-70, 78, 81.
Hellas: 29.
Hellespont: 80.
Hephaisteion: 20.
Hera: 51.
Heracles: 11, 13, 16-17, 19-20, 423, 45-47, 53-55, 70, 77, 83.
Apotheosis: 11.
Doric hero: 46, 52.
Panhellenic: 13, 46.
Heracles knot: 54.
Herakliskos drakonopnigon: 49, 51.
Hermes: 39, 65-66, 69.
herms & *hermax*: 39.
Herodotus: 38, 40, 79
Hieron potter: 24..
himation: 23, 27, 29-30, 38-39, 61, 66, 68-69, 71.
Hippolyte: 47.
Histiaeus of Miletus: 80.
Illyrian helmet: 63
Iolaos: 13, 47.
Iolcus: 16
Ionia: 42, 76, 83.
Isthmus: 19, 32.
Ithaca: 52.
Jaharis Mary Michael, 13, 62, 64.
Johnston Alan: 57.
Kadmos: 11.
Kallimachos: 70.
kalos inscription: 65-66, 77-78.
Kapinovo: 31-32, 62.
Karagodeuashkh, South Russia: 77.
Kent Hill Dorothy: 56.
kerykeion: 65
ketos: 63, 73.
Kimon: 19.
Kios, Propontis: 29.
Kleophon painter: 27.
kline: 68.
klismos: 66.
Knos(s)os: 22-23, 27-28.
Kralevo, Targogishte district: 48.
Ksenofontova I. V.: 70.
Label or caption inscriptions: 14, 22, 28, 30, 38, 78.
Lampsacus: 52.
Laurus nobilis: 14.
Lekythoi "group R": 67.
lemniskos: 38, 61.
leonte: 47, 55.
Leucas: 28.
Leucippides: 40.
Leucippus: 39.
Libethras, Pieria: 40.
London E105 painter; 20.
Lottosphiale: 76
Louvre: 30.
Lycian language: 14, 19.
Lycurgus: 13 (Thracian king), 63 (vase painter).

Lydia: 76.
Lykos: 70.
Lynx lynx: 68.
Lysander: 51.
Lysippos (*Alexander doryphoros*, Stanford type): 26-27.
Lysitheos: 30.
Macedonia: 25, 27, 46, 50, 54-55, 78, 82-83.
Macedonian calyx: 76.
Magna Graecia: 52.
Marathon Battle: 20, 43, 47, 79.
Marathon bull: 19, 45- 46-48, 61, 81.
Marazov Ivan: 14, 32, 38-39, 41, 73.
Mardonius: 80.
Marsyas painter: 18.
Marsyas: 16 (vase painter), 36 (satyr), 61 (sculpture by Myron).
Medeon, Phokis: 25.
Mediterranean: 12.
Medokoc (Amadocus I): 82.
Megara: 26, 46.
Meidias painter: 28, 62, 67.
Melanippe: 13, 73.
Meleager painter: 52.
Meleager: 13-14.
Melian reliefs: 69.
Messambria / Nessebar: 13, 17, 46, 70
Messana, Sicily: 28.
Metropolitan Museum, New York, 13, 42, 44, 62-64, 71.
Mezek tumulus, Thrace: 57.
Miltiades the Elder: 79.
Miltiades the Younger: 79.
Minos: 19, 22-23, 30.
Minotaur: 29.
Mithraic cult: 45.
Mnasitheos: 30.
Mogilanska tumulus, Vratsa: 52.
Mustella erminea: 68.
Mycenean kantharoi: 23.
Myron: 61 (*Marsyas*).
Mys: 30, 59.
Mysia: 76.
mythology: 13, 39, 51.
Nea Kallikrateia, Macedonia: 27.
Nea Michaniona, Macedonia: 55.
nebris: 61.
Nekyia painter: 27.
Nemean lion: 46.
Nemesis in Rhamnous: 29, 40, 65.
Neon Teichos: 81.
Neoptolemus: 13-14.
Nereids: 38, 51, 63, 73, 77.
Nike: 38, 45, 60, 62-63, 70, 78.
Nikopolis: 28.
North-Aegean: 73, 83.
Nuber Hans Ulrich: 55.
Nymphaion, South Russia: 75.
Nymphodoros: 78, 81.
Octavian: 28.
Odomantians: 81.
Odrysian king: 28, 81, 83.
Odysseus: 13-14, 16, 30.
Oedipus: 13.
Oinocles painter: 30.
Ola europea: 14.
Olbia: 70.
Oliver Andrew: 56.
Olorus: 79.
Olympia: 20, 26, 45, 57, 61.
Olympian gods / goddesses: 11, 14.
Olynthos; 80.
Onopordum acanthium: 14.
Oriental barbarians: 43.
Orpheus: 11, 13, 19, 38-39, 44, 67-69, 71, 76, 78, 81, 83.
Ortiz Collection: 12
Oxonian controversy: 11, 56-59.
Pactya: 81.
Pan: 11, 55.
Panagyurishte treasure: 14, 191, 45, 49, 52.
Mramor tumulus: 47.
Panathenaic amphora silver: 77
Pangaeum Mount: 39.
Panticapaeum: 52.
Paris / Alexander: 13-14, 66
Parrhasios: 30, 58.
Pausanias: 20, 68.
Peace of Callias: 80.
Peace of Nikias: 81.
pederasty: 69.
Pelasgians: 38.
Peleus painter: 61-62.

Peleus: 14, 16, 39, 62.
Pelion Mount: 16.
Peloponnesian League: 80.
Peloponnesian War: 14, 16, 28, 40, 51-52, 78, 82-82.
Peloponnesus: 28, 52.
pelte: 43, 63, 71.
Penelope: 69.
Penthesileia painter: 20, 24, 44, 61.
pentimenti: 32, 59.
peplos: 2-23, 27, 29, 38-39, 62, 66-69, 71-72.
with *apoptygma*: 22, 38, 68.
Perdicas of Macedon: 81.
Pericles: 80.
Periphetes: 19.
Persephone: 27, 40.
Perseus: 52.
Persian Wars: 19-20, 43, 76-78.
Persians: 61, 80.
petasos: 61, 65-66.
phallera: 48.
Phiale painter: 29.
Phidias: 27, 43, 63, 74.
Lemnia: 27.
Parthenos: 27, 43, 62, 82.
Philaids: 79, 82.
Philip II of Macedon: 46.
Phineus: 13.
Phrynichus: 24.
Phyle: 28.
pilos: 14, 16, 43, 63.
Pirithous: 13, 32, 40.
Pisistratids: 79.
Pistoxenos painter: 29, 44.
Plato: 36.
Pliny the Elder: 32, 59.
Polianovo, Thrace: 55.
Polycleitus (*Canon-Doryphoros, Kyniskos, Diomedes*): 26.
Polygnotos painter: 68
Polygnotos vase painter: 16, 20, 29.
Poseidon: 13, 19, 73.
Potidaea: 81.
Priam: 13-14.
Procrustes: 17, 32.
prometopidion: 77.
Propontis (toreutic workshop): 55, 65, 73.
Pydna, Macedonia: 55.
Pytheas, toreut: 30.
Q painter: 63.
Rabadjiev Konstantin: 32.
Resilovo, Thrace: 55.
Rhenia cups: 19, 31, 61-61, 64-65, 68, 70, 74.
Rhoesus: 13.
rhopalon / club / cudgel: 14, 16, 19, 31, 45-46.
Riace Warrior B: 28, 61.
Robertson M.: 57.
Rogozen treasure: 13, 19, 47.
Roman copies: 26.
Roman taste: 58.
Romanian scholarship: 12.
Roscigno, South Italy: 19, 50.
Sadokos: 81.
Salamis Island: 28.
Salamis, Cyprus: 28
Samos: 28.
Samothracian mysteries: 38.
sakkos: 23, 29, 66, 72.
sauroter: 64-65.
Schimmel Collection: 12, 45.
Schuvalow painter: 66.
Sciron: 31-32, 62, 81.
sculpture: 11, 19-20, 29, 67, 78, 83.
Scylla: 55, 63-64.
Scythia / Scythians: 13, 76, 78-80, 82.
Selene / Nyx: 11, 62.
Selymbria: 81.
Semibratnie tumuli, South Russia: 13, 60, 69-70, 74-75, 80.
Sestos: 80.
Seuthes I: 78, 81.
Seuthes II: 82.
Seven against Thebes (Panagyurishte amphora): 47.
Sicilian Expedition: 81.
Sinis: 32, 44.
Sirenes: 11.
Sisiphus painter: 39.
Sitalkes: 78, 81.
Skapte Hyle: 79.
Skyros island: 19
Skythodokos: 62.
Smith Amy: 28.
Socrates: 36.

Solokha tumulus, South Russia: 44, 51, 70, 72.
South Italy: 52, 76.
Spain: 51.
Sparadokos: 80.
Sparkes Brian: 56.
Sparta: 28, 40, 81.
sphendone: 72.
Sphinxes: 11, 42, 70, 76.
Spina, Adriatic coast: 16, 51, 71.
Stara Zagora: 47.
Stewart Andrew: 27.
Stoa Poikile: 43.
Stratonike: 81.
Strymon River: 80.
Svetitsa tumulus, Shipka: 19, 74.
Symmachikon coinage: 51
Syracuse: 28, 52 (coin).
Talcott Lucy: 56.
Tarentum: 40, 52.
tattoos: 38
Tenos: 29.
Teres I: 80.
Tereus: 13, 80.
Terpsichore: 62.
Thacian peraea: 79.
Thanatos painter: 61.
Thebes: 51-52 (coinage).
Theia: 73.
Theophrastus: 63.
theoxenia: 16.
Theseus: 11-13, 17, 19-20, 22, 31-32, 40, 42-44, 45-48, 61-62, 65, 77-78, 81-83.
Thetis: 16, 39, 63.
Thrace: 11-12, 17, 19, 28, 46-50, 53, 55, 62, 69, 75-83.
Thracian aristocracy: 83
Thracian toreutics: 73, 78.
Thracian women: 13, 38-39, 71.
Thracology: 12.
Thraco-Macedonian: 59 (domain), 80 (coinage).
threnys: 65.
Thucydides: 40, 80.
thrysos: 61.
Torre Annunziata: 53.
Touloumtzidou Anareta: 55.
Trebenishte: 57.
Treister Michael: 70.
Triptolemus: 13-14, 27.
Troizen: 28.
Troy: 14.
tympanon: 70.
Uliap, Adygean Caucasus: 76.
Underworld painter: 39, 73.
Vani, Georgia: 76.
Varbitsa, Preslav district: 47, 55.
Vassil Bojkov Collection / VBC: 14, 17, 20, 25, 30, 32, 39-40, 42, 44, 48-49, 51-53, 61-62, 65-67, 71-73, 75.
Vergina, Macedonia: 46, 54-55.
Vickers Michael: 57-59, 76.
Vouni, Cuprus: 76.
Vratsa Regional Museum: 13.
wall-painting: 11, 26, 43, 58, 68, 78, 88.
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: 25, 56, 74.
Washing painter: 72.
White - Levy Collection: 12, 63, 70.
Xenophon: 79.
Yakimova tumulus, Thrace: 74.
Zelenski tumulus, South Russia: 50, 76.
Zeus of Artemision: 28, 30, 61.
Zeus: 28 (figure on mirror), 40, 45 (Olympia temple), 51.

ATHANASIOS SIDERIS

THESEUS IN THRACE

© Texts: Athanasios Sideris
© For this edition: Thrace Foundation
Editorial supervision: Ruja Popova
Drawings of the Vassil Bojkov Collection artefacts: Vania Malakhieva
Photographs of the Vassil Bojkov Collection artefacts: Marin Karavelov
Graphic design: Bilyana Savova
Prepress: Vladimir Stamenkov
Printed by: Bulged
Publisher: Thrace Foundation, Sofia 2015
Publisher contact: info@nove.bg
ISBN: 978-954-92384-4-0

ISBN: 978-954-9238N-N-0
9 789549 238440

THRACE FOUNDATION
SOFIA 2015